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Hunger Strike Enters 2nd Week

Community Shows Broad Support for Jnaid Prisoners

West Bank and Gaza residents held a general strike October 4 in a show of strong support for the two-week-old hunger strike of Palestinian political prisoners in Jnaid prison for better conditions. Prisoners in Hebron, Ramle and Nafha prisons began hunger strikes in solidarity with political detainees in Jnaid, and families of prisoners continued sit-ins at Red Cross offices and held demonstrations. Representatives of striking prisoners met with the Israeli minister of police when he visited Jnaid October 1.

In East Jerusalem and its suburbs all shops were closed October 4 in solidarity with prisoners although mounted police and roving patrols were in force.

Through the week a sit-in strike by prisoners' families was held at the offices of International Red Cross in Jerusalem. Similar sit-ins took place in Nablus, Jenin, Bethlehem and Gaza. The Jerusalem participants, who have been protesting since the prisoners' hunger strike began, turned to the streets October 2 in an impromtu demonstration. The demonstration which went through Jerusalem's streets was broken up by police near the US consulate. Thirteen demonstrators, including the mother of a sick prisoner who has been transferred to the Ramle prison hospital, were arrested. Protestors had planned to demonstrate outside the offices of all foreign consulates in East Jerusalem.

A day earlier prisoners' families sent letters to the foreign consulates appealing for their intervention with Israeli authorities. A similar letter was sent by the Federation of Arab Chambers of Commerce and Industry, September 27, asking the various diplomats to "relieve the pains of Arab prisoners and keep their souls."

Palestinian national institutions in the occupied territories issued a statement October 3 in solidarity with the striking prisoners. The strike was observed throughout the West Bank's major cities. The statement held Israeli authorities responsible for the safety of the prisoners and called for a general strike on October 4 in solidarity with the striking prisoners.

In a press conference at the American Colony in Jerusalem, lawyers, relatives of prisoners and a recently-released prisoner described conditions at Jnaid prison and refuted the various Israeli attempts to weaken the prisoners' protest action. Speaking on behalf of the prisoners' legal defense committee, Ziad Abu Ziad said that Palestinian political prisoners at Asqelon, Nafha and Hebron prisons have joined their brothers at Jnaid in the hunger strike.

Jihad Yasin, who was released from Jnaid prison on October 1, told reporters that from the time of the opening of the prison last July, prisoners have been "protesting through the proper channels." Yasin said that in his section Number 3 authorities allowed only one prisoner to serve the 150 prisoners in their cells. As a result, food was served cold and tasteless.

Yasin also spoke of other problems prisoners encountered.

Relatives of Palestinian prisoners on hunger strike at Jnaid prison stopped by Israeli police as they were attempting to hand prisoners' demands to American Consul in Jerusalem October 2/AO photo

"Believers had a hard time in knowing where East was because of the blocking of the sun by asbestos boards." Yasin also noted that prisoners were unable to adjust to the presence of electronic surveillance equipment. "In order to keep a constant watch on prisoners, the authorities kept the light on 24 hours a day," he said, "even while prisoners were asleep." The newly-released prisoner, who served four years for membership in an illegal organisation, told reporters that prison authorities used the electronic system to terrorise the prisoners. "The electronic gadgets would let out a siren for two continuous minutes every hour," he said.

Ziad Abu Ziad read journalists a letter sent by the strikers' representatives concerning their demands and their October 1 meeting with police minister Haim Bar-Lev. The prisoners said they informed Bar Lev that they are not struggling for a Palestinian state and are not getting orders

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STOP PRESS

Palestinian prisoners at Jnaid prison decided to suspend their hunger strike at the end of October 4. This was based on clear promises by Israeli minister of police Haim Bar Lev to respond favourably to their demands.

Consequently, families of prisoners holding a sit-in at the Red Cross in Jerusalem ended their sit-in.

Vigilante Settlers Threaten Dheisheh Refugee Camp

Israeli troops sealed seven of nine entrances to Dheisheh refugee camp south of Bethlehem October 3. This followed a raid on the camp by 300 armed Israeli settlers from Kiryat Arba and Gush Etzion settlements October 2. Settlers were prevented from entering the camp by Israeli troops who were enforcing an all-day curfew on the 6000 camp residents. Reports from the camp say that soldiers also took advantage of the curfew, which was lifted October 4, to block camp entrances with cement-filled barrels and barbed wire.

On the previous night the leader of the ultra right-wing Kach movement, Meir Kahane entered the camp using Knesset privilege and with military guard. Eyewitnesses said that three buses and more than 37 private cars arrived at the camp shortly after sunset. They erected roadblocks on the main Bethlehem-Hebron road, which passes directly in front of the camp, and rerouted traffic through Beit Jala. The settlers, many of whom were armed with automatic weapons, surrounded the camp from three sides and tried to force their way into the camp. Dheisheh residents reported that some settlers did enter the camp and fired shots at houses and rooftop water reservoirs. Israeli soldiers intervened and ordered the settlers out but did not disperse the Israelis or force them to dismantle the roadblocks.

Kahane arrived at the camp entrance around 9:30 pm to praise the settlers' action. The settlers eventually left the area and took down the roadblocks shortly before midnight.

Israeli troops arrested journalist Ali Qa'adan, from *al-Awdah* magazine and Marsha Hamilton from *Associated Press* who were on a visit to the camp that evening were arrested and held overnight. Qa'adam said the soldiers insulted them and accused

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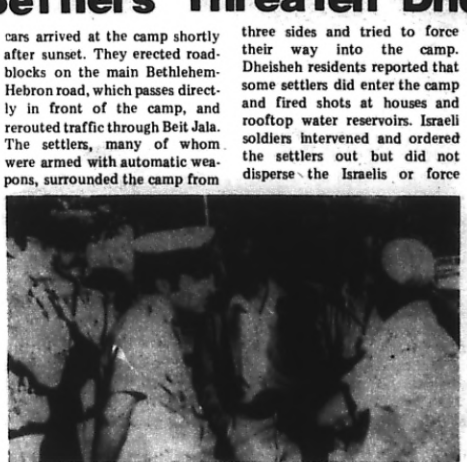

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LEBANESE RESISTANCE SEPTEMBER TALLY

55 Attacks Made Against Occupation Forces

Lebanese National Resistance Front announced September 28, that its forces carried out 55 attacks against the Israeli occupation forces and the South Lebanon Army during the month. Fourteen attacks were carried out against the Israeli-supported South Lebanon Army, operating under the command of Anton Lahad, and 41 attacks against Israeli forces. This week three Israeli soldiers and one officer were wounded in resistance attacks.

Three of these attacks were carried out September 27. In the eastern section of South Lebanon a device exploded by the side of a road four kilometres west of Kufr Kook as an Israeli patrol passed by. In Sidon, an Israeli patrol was attacked with light weapons fire. In the central sector an Israeli patrol hit a mine two kilometres south of Nabatiya. The Israeli Army spokesman claimed there were no casualties in any of the Thursday attacks.

On September 28, a Sidon resident was shot and wounded by soldiers when he broke through as Israeli army roadblock, according to the Israeli army spokesman. Light arms fire was directed against an Israeli outpost in Kamed al-Luz.

On Saturday, light arms were used against an Israeli army post in Jezzine and a civil guard outpost in the village of Habush, both in the central sector of south Lebanon. A mine exploded October 2 as a patrol car passed by. No injuries were reported.

The Lebanese Resistance front also claimed responsibility for the execution of an Israeli intelligence officer. Major General "Abu Nur" was killed the week before in south eastern Lebanon.

Three Israeli soldiers were wounded, October 3 while patrolling above the Awali River, an area from where Israeli troops had supposedly withdrawn.

Incidents occurred in the village of Shechin in Aklim al-Haroub area. Five small explosives went off at second intervals as an Israeli patrol consisting of three troops carriers passed by.

An officer in the engineering corps of the Israeli Army was wounded by a grenade attack near the village of Jnaya October 3.

An unidentified organisation calling itself "The People's Court" claimed responsibility October 2 for the assassination of a Palestinian woman who was found guilty of collaborating with Israel in the Ain al-Hilweh refugee camp in South Lebanon.

An anonymous caller told a new agency that the woman was "excecuted" two days before for collaborating with Israel. He did not reveal the identity of the woman.

The caller said the activities of his organisations are centered in Ain al-Hilweh and that a number of suspected collaborators had been executed in the past. Some 200 new SLA soldiers, half of them Shi'ites are to begin training this week in the SLA's training camps in Majadiya. This will be the largest group to be trained at the recently established camp. So far some 300 soldiers have undergone training there.

The SLA is continuing its efforts to recruit Shi'ites the predominant population in south Lebanon. The army now consists of 2,100 soldiers, 60 percent of who are Christian, 17 percent Shi'ite, 15 percent Druse, and the rest Sunni Muslims.

Gaza Man Shot Following Jabalya Protest

Israeli soldiers shot and wounded a 22-year-old man walking in a street in Jabalya refugee camp, in the Gaza Strip, September 30. The incident came after Israeli troops put down demonstrations in protest of Israeli plans to demolish 23 homes under 'security' pretext.

Hamed Abu Nahel was shot in the leg Sunday morning and taken to Shifa hospital in Gaza where he is reported to be in good condition. Israeli radio reported that the youth was carrying a "suspicious" parcel and ran away when he was ordered to stop. Israeli police interrogaters questioned him in hospital but did not leave policemen outside his room as is customary when a suspect is under arrest. Later on, the youth was transferred to Nasser hospital in Khan Yunis for an operation on his broken bones.

Earlier in the day, Israeli troops were mobilised in the camp to forcefully evict 23 Palestinian families in the camp. Camp sources said that residents clashed with soldiers and prevented them from carrying out the evictions. At least 10 people were arrested, according to the residents.

Israeli military sources say that the authorities plan to open wide roads in the camp to allow better patrolling in the camp. Israeli authorities point out that there has been an increase in military attacks against Israeli soldiers in the camp in recent days.

In 1970, Israeli authorities carried out a large security campaign in all Gaza refugee camps, and bulldozed wide roads in the camps in order to wipe out the military resistance.

Lebanon Withdrawal Near

Israeli withdrawal from south Lebanon appears to be nearing with the Peres government's agreement not to tie their withdrawal with Syria and Syria's apparent welcoming of US intervention in obtaining the Israeli withdrawal.

Speaking to a half-empty UN assembly in New York, Israeli foreign minister Yitzhak Shamir did not make the usual call for simultaneous withdrawal from Lebanon by Syria and Israel. Shamir claimed that "Israel has no interest in maintaining any military presence in Lebanon."

Syria, on the other hand, softened its position as regards a possible US-negotiated treaty that would lead to the full withdrawal of the Israeli army. A Syrian government radio commentator welcomed the US efforts and said that "No one can imagine a Lebanese rejection to an Israeli withdrawal, or a rejection of US efforts to prepare and carry out the Israeli withdrawal with all its details.

Israeli sources also quoted defense minister Rabin as being "optimistic about the possibilities of an Israeli withdrawal, especially since Syrian President Assad has agreed to meet US envoy Richard Murphy."

According to *The Jerusalem Post*, Israeli chief-of-staff Moshe Levy is willing to have the UNIFIL forces replace the forces of Lahad. Lahad's forces, the Israeli proxy army in south-east Lebanon which are financed and supported by the Israeli army, have been sharply attacked in the Israeli media for being unable to carry the responsibility of safeguarding Israel's northern borders, especially after the massacre they perpetrated in the Lebanese village of Suhmur three weeks ago.

In another development in south Lebanon, the Israeli daily *HaAretz* revealed October 4 that the Israeli army and a private firm are operating a quarry in Kleia in south Lebanon to supply army needs in Lebanon as well as in Israel. The business venture was revealed by an angry Israeli quarry owner who lost work to the Lebanon quarry. The Israeli army said that the quarry work was being carried out in Lebanon because "Israeli geologists have revealed that "quarry stones in south Lebanon are far superior to that in the Galilee."

September 28 marked the 14th anniversary of the death of Gamal Abd al-Nasser, leader of the Egyptian revolution which overthrew King Farouq in July 1952. Abd al-Nasser was viewed as the leader of pan-Arab nationalism, in which he advocated the unification of all Arab countries into one state. His sudden death by heart attack in 1970, following the September massacres by the Jordanian regime against the PLO, was mourned by millions of Arabs all over the Arab world, including Palestinians in the occupied territories.

Beaten Beduin Claims Lawless Police Action

Mousa Abu Madi, 27, of the al-Azazmeh Beduin tribe, registered a complaint at the Beer Sheba police station claiming he was brutally beaten by border policemen.

According to Abu Madi, the border police came to his home September 9 and forced him into their car. They drove him to the old road near the Ramat Hovev junction and accused him of having stolen a flock of sheep belonging to the Mushavei-Sadeh settlement.

Abu Madi told an *Al Hamishmar* reporter the following: "Three policemen began to brutally beat me. I told them I didn't know what they were talking about. They stripped me and beat me with a pipe or a club. One of them took out a knife and threatened to stab me. Another one said, 'I'll screw both you and your wife.' "

Abu Madi said he was then taken to the Ofakim police station where his beating continued. He spent the night at the police station and the police refused his request for medical attention. He claims that the police took him to the Dimona junction and released him. Abu Madi was later released from the Soroka Hospital after receiving treatment.

Chairperson of the Association for the Aid and Defence of Beduin Rights, Nuri al-Uqbi, issued the following statement: "Lately, cases of this type have been occurring every week. Lawlessness is going unchecked. The men who are supposed to be responsible for law and order are the very ones breaking the law." Al-Uqbi also said that the association would meet on Thursday in order to discuss how to cope with the outbreak of beatings suffered by Beduin at the hands of the border patrol.

Moshe Chen, police spokesperson for the Naqab region, acknowledged that a complaint has been made and that it is being investigated. He also said, "The border patrol officer who deals with issues such as these has been given all the facts about the incident and he will continue the investigation." (Translation: Al Hamishmar, September 12, 1984.)

Erratum

For reasons of space we regret that we were unable to publish last week the opinions of Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), George Hazboun, Samiha Khalil and Radwan Abu Ayash regarding Jordan's resumption of relations with Egypt.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue #31, October 5, 1984:

Number of original articles submitted to censors	11
Number of articles mutilated	1
Number of articles partially censored but used	1
Number of articles passed	9

Arab Local Councils Strike Over Unfair Budgets

Forty-five Arab local councils and municipalities in Israel struck October 1 in protest of the financial crises facing most of the Arab councils. (The combined deficit is close to IS5 billion.) The strike which included some 3000 Galilee and Triangle council employees, not including schools, went as planned despite last minute efforts by Israeli interior ministry officials to talk the Arab mayors and heads of local councils out of the strike.

Mayor Ibrahim Nimr Hussein of Shafa 'Amr, the chairman of the Arab local council heads, told *Al Fajr* that his colleagues explained to Israeli officials they would stop their protest action as soon as the proper Israeli ministries pay the municipal worker salaries for 10 local councils unable to meet their payroll for the months of August and September. The Arab council heads gave the authorities one week to do so. Otherwise a meeting scheduled October 9 in the Triangle village of Taibeh will convene to declare protest moves. Arab councilmen predicted that protest moves may be speeded up to include an open-ended strike.

Israeli officials' attempts to avert the strike were carried out by interior ministry director general Haim Kubersky. In a letter hand-delivered to six leading local council members, Kubersky warned that the strike action "is a violation of the law." Ranan Cohen, director of the minority department in the Labour Party, also sent a request not to strike. Cohen told the councilmen that he "sympathised with their plight but felt that the strike was not the proper act." After receiving the warnings, the heads of the local councils met and voted to go ahead with the planned strike. Ibrahim Hussein said that "for the past year we have heard a lot of nice talk, and we want to see action." Hussein said that after authorities pay the unpaid salaries, negotiations can begin to find comprehensive solutions to the financial problems of Arab councils.

One of the most affected municipalities is that of Nazareth. According to deputy mayor Ramez Jaraiseh, the municipality's treasury is in need of IS400 million. One hundred fifty million is needed urgently to pay municipal employee salaries. Answering complaints about the budget deficits, the commander of the northern district Israel Koenig told an Israel TV reporter that Nazareth municipality was "ineffectively administered." He also accused the Arab municipality of spending money on items not mentioned in their regular budget.

Nazareth municipal sources told *Al Fajr* that the problem is the municipality spent some money to supplement the voluntary work camp held in August which succeeded in completing projects for the city which would have cost ordinarily as much as the total yearly municipal budget.

The major problem facing the Arab councils is that their Israeli-approved budgets are very low to begin with and then the various Israeli ministries are lax in supplying the necessary funds. When they finally pay the municipalities their budgets the real value of the money has gone down considerably. Yet now council debts are tied to the inflation index and thus their value increases with inflation. Similarly if the council has to borrow to pay its debts, it also loses much to the bank in interest.

The tight budgets of the Arab councils also deplete their reserve treasuries. Thus when the council has debts to pay it often has to borrow from banks at high interest rates.

The overall regular and development budgets of the Arab councils is much lower than those of Jewish councils. According to Nazareth mayor Tawfiq Zayyad, the average Arab council budget is 35 percent that of a similar Jewish council.

Yatta Land Grabbed By Israeli Military

Israeli military authorities are preparing to confiscate 2000 dunums of land from the village of Yatta, north of Hebron. An official of Yatta's municipality told *Al Fajr* that a group of Israeli army officers met with local *mukhtars* October 1 and told them of the planned confiscation in the Obeid, Quirsh and Sussia areas by the Israeli army for military use.

The *mukhtars* protested the decision to the officers and showed them legal papers proving their ownership of these lands. They were told by the officers to take their case to the Israeli High Court, said a municipality official.

Mentally Ill Youth Sentenced to 3 Years

The Israeli district court of Jerusalem sentenced Mohammed Yazuri, a Palestinian from Rafah in the Gaza Strip, to three years imprisonment September 29 for attacking the driver of an Israeli bus with 50 passengers on board.

The incident occurred in November 1983 as Yazuri was travelling from Jerusalem to Tel Aviv. He had just been informed that his application to enroll in the Hebrew University was turned down and he attacked the driver of the bus, grabbed the steering wheel and tried to drive the bus off the road outside Deir Yassin which is now a settlement called Giv'at Sha'ul. The bus driver, however, was able to overpower the youth and prevent the bus from crashing.

Yazuri admitted the charge before the court, but said that he was angry at that moment because he had not been admitted to the Hebrew University. The Gaza youth also said that he was suffering from psychological problems and that occasionally he loses control of himself.

Commenting on the case the Israeli judge said that he is convinced that the man is suffering from mental problems but added that he was also convinced that the man holds deep hatred towards Jews, and that this hatred is what drove him to try to wreck the bus. (Translation: Al-Sha'ab, October 1.)

Soldiers Arrest Student At BZU Board Meeting

Israeli military authorities broke into a meeting of Bir Zeit University's board of trustees to arrest a member of the student council, Marwan Barghouti, October 2. Barghouti was taken from the meeting without being shown a legal arrest warrant. No charges were filed.

An Israeli officer in the Ramallah military governorate known as Amer entered the Ramallah office of the University a written warrant, one soldier responded that he would use force to carry him out. Another officer picked up pen and paper, and wrote out an arrest order, which he handed to University's acting president, Dr. Gabi Baramki.

Baramki and the dean of student affairs later went to the military governorate to inquire about Barghouti's condition but were not permitted to enter. According to a statement issued by the student council on October 2, the military guards at the gate turned them away on the pretext that none of the officers in charge was available to authorise the visit.

Sources in the student council said the authorities remanded the student for four days, the maximum period for 'pick-up' detentions. Further detention must be endorsed by two military judges.

The student council and university administration condemned the arrest as a violation of academic freedom. In its statement, the student council pointed out that the action was only part of the repressive measures being carried out against Palestinian national institutions.

In a related story Bethlehem University student council members were summoned to the Bethlehem area military governorate October 2 where they were warned against taking part in demonstrations. The student council president Jabra Shomali was summoned again the following day for interogation.

board Monday evening where representatives of the board, student council and employees union were gathered to discuss internal matters. The officer ordered Barghouti to accompany him and told the others that the student was under arrest. When the student insisted he be shown

Labour May Launch Bribe Campaign in West Bank

In an effort to woo local business interests and moderate Arab states into political negotiations with Israel over the future of the West Bank and Gaza, the Labour-led Israeli government is considering lessoning some economic and political restrictions in the occupied territories, the Israeli weekly *Koteret Rashit* reported September 25. The plans stem from an American scheme proposed several months ago to the Likud government which calls for helping the local economy in the West Bank and Gaza through foreign investment in order to draw them into future political settlement of the Palestinian question.

In its report, the magazine said Israel's prime minister Peres and his advisory council have agreed to begin the 'good gestures' by easing censorship regulations imposed on the Arab press to the exclusion of Israeli media. There was no confirmation of the report by Israeli officials nor did *Koteret Rashit* say when these measures will be taken. It also reported that Peres is planning to allow the development of an independent monetary system in the West Bank and Gaza. Since its occupation in 1967, Israel has refused to allow banks previously under Jordan and Egypt to function in the occupied territories by virtue of military orders no 7 and 194. In Gaza the Israelis allowed the reopening of the Palestine Bank in 1981 but the bank was not allowed to deal with foreign currency.

The Israeli magazine, published in Tel Aviv, said the Peres government plans to allow local Palestinian residents to bring money from abroad, regardless of its source. In the past the Israeli Likud-led government had imposed restrictions against bringing funds from the Palestinian-Jordanian joint committee.

Sources in the Nablus Chamber of Commerce said they had not been informed of any new developments along this line. The source said however that they will have a meeting with Israeli authorities next week and would discuss their request to open an Arab bank in the city. *Al Quds* daily, which is closely linked to the Jordanian regime, on the other hand, quoted its 'private correspondent,' September 30, as saying that preparations are underway to open an Arab bank which might be based in Nablus.

Some economists also link the recent decision by the Israeli authorities to increase the amount of money allowed to

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Jewish Women in Taibeh Stand Up to Kahane

Four Jewish women married to Palestinians from the Triangle village of Taibeh held a press conference in the village October 2 to denounce racist Rabbi Meir Kahane's threats to visit Taibeh October 9 to persuade the women to leave their husbands and return to the Jewish faith.

The women, representing a group of eight, responded angrily to Kahane's statement. Yehudit Haj Yihya said, "Kahane cannot speak of purity; for when he speaks of deposing citizens only because they are Arabs, he is impure... Neither the Torah nor the constitution speak of such actions."

Kahane notified the Taibeh local council September 26 of his intention to enter the village, claiming he wants to persuade the women to return to the Jewish faith. The women, however, said that Kahane's reason for entering the village is to provoke violence. "He told reporters of his intention to cause violence," they said, and "he is also trying to present Arabs as savages who meet their visitors with stones and insults." Kahane's earlier attempt August 29 to enter the village of Um al-Fahm was met by strong protest and angry demonstrators, some of whom threw stones at Israeli soldiers protecting Kahane.

The four women issued a declaration calling upon the Israeli president and members of Knesset to "stop such fanatic rhetoric and stop Kahane from disturbing Palestinian village life." They insisted that Kahane is using them as mere excuse to incite and cause violence, and maintained that Kahane does not frighten them.

Yehudit explained that life among the Arabs differs from that of Jews. She said, "Arabs do not force us to change our religion as is the case when one joins a Jewish family." Shoshana Masarweh said, "I will not give up my home for anything in the world." Another woman insisted she will be at the head of the demonstration October 9 to stop Kahane.

A committee formed by Taibeh's local council sent a telegramme to the Israel minister of police requesting his aid in preventing Kahane's action.

3 MONTHS AFTER ARREST

Lawyer Sees Lebanese POWs

Jerusalem lawyer Felicia Langer won permission to visit four Lebanese women POWs at Neve Tertza prison in Ramle, September 26, three months after their arrest. Previous applications by lawyers to visit the women were turned down by prison authorities. A special commission was scheduled to hear an appeal against their detention in October.

The four women — Fatmeh al-Basha, Raghda Ayoub, Widad Kharbeiti and Leila Shawwar — were arrested separately in June and held in Israeli military centres in Lebanon for one month before their transfer to Israel. According to Israeli military authorities, their detention in Israel is based on a special amendment to the 1945 emergency defence regulations enacted by Britain during the mandate government. The amendment, made by military order, is called Detention of Lebanese Prisoners in Israel, 1983. Langer argued in Israeli High Court that this amendment contradicts the terms of the Geneva Conventions which prohibit an occupying power from holding prisoners within its borders.

Langer's visit was the first legal counsel they have received and was welcomed by the prisoners. "One of them cried when I came into the room," the lawyer said. She reported that all four women complained about being so far away from their home and not seeing any family members. Langer also said that her clients were badly treated when they were first detained in Lebanon. She said that they are being kept with Palestinian women political prisoners and subjected to the same harsh treatment.

Langer told *Al Fajr* that in addition to the appeal before the special commission in October, she was maintaining her appeal for their release which she presented to Israeli High Court September 16. She explained she was not placing much faith in the commission's results. She pointed out that this committee, though headed by a civil district judge, is very weak and the committee proceedings are kept secret on grounds of security. Langer cited a previous case in which the same committee recommended the continued detention of two Lebanese prisoners held at Atlit military prison near Haifa on grounds of security. The lawyer, therefore, said she is maintaining the High Court appeal requesting the release of her clients.

Dheisheh

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them of breaking the curfew. Hamdi Farraj, another journalist from Dheisheh who is under town arrest, was also arrested and released on the following day. Reports from the camp, which is still under curfew, say that Israeli troops raided a number of homes and left arrest summons.

Israeli radio reported that Israeli soldiers arrested a number of settlers.

Palestinian residents demonstrated October 1 in solidarity with striking Palestinian political prisoners in Jnaid prison. Dheisheh youths stoned Israeli traffic smashing the windshield of a bus which was passing on the road.

When Kahane and his followers arrived at Dheisheh later that day, the camp was under curfew. The Israeli military governor of the Bethlehem area allowed the racist Rabbi to enter the camp despite it being a closed area. *The Jerusalem Post* said that Kahane prayed near the camp mosque and cursed Arabs as "dogs." Kahane also threatened to take revenge on the residents for stone throwing.

Israel Bans Foreign Imports

Israel banned the import of 50 foreign commodities ranging from cars to fur coats for a six-month period beginning October 3. The announcement was made October 2. The banning decision was taken by the ministerial economic committee of the unity government in a desperate attempt to save Israel's falling foreign-currency reserves.

Passed by a narrow majority of eight to six, the measure, aimed at luxury items, includes an additional 25 percent deposit on goods already in Israeli customs warehouses or on their way to Israel. Goods in retailers' stocks will not be affected by the deposit or be subject to price controls though comparable Israeli goods will be.

Other measures passed by the committee include a reduction in foreign currency that residents of Israel and the occupied territories are allowed to take on trips abroad, and a ban on issuing new credit cards for use abroad and on the renewal of existing cards.

The ban came as a result of government fears over the continued decline of foreign money reserves. Reserves dropped US $323 million in September alone, according to an announcement October 1. The government expects the ban to save US $200 million over the next six months.

Reaction among Israeli businessmen and government officials was mixed. Industry and trade minister Ariel Sharon, while admitting that the measures could lead to unemployment in firms dealing primarily with imports, said the emergency measures were vital to the seriousness of the situation. He claimed the ban would help Israel meet its foreign debt. The measures, he said, were only part of an overall economic austerity plan including a US$1 billion budget cut and new and increased taxes netting US$500 million.

Government officials fear, however, that the decrease in revenue from taxes on the imports will necessitate the printing of more money. They also fear that residents who planned to buy foreign goods will either delay their purchase until after six months or use the money to buy black market dollars. These possible public reactions will, some say, merely cancel any benefit the measures are intended to cause.

Zvi Amit, director of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce in Israel, was quoted October 3 in *The Jerusalem Post*, as calling the measures "unfortunate, irresponsible and unbalanced." He said the government would have collected 200 percent in import duty on the goods now banned. The government loss in taxes and surcharges alone, said Amit, will amount to US$600 million.

Amit further criticised the measure, saying it would threaten same 15,000 jobs. "When you paralyse a business organization you cannot expect the owners to maintain their work forces intact without dismissals," he said.

Sharon, in a statement quoted by *The Post* and aimed at Israel's trade partners, said, "This indeed is an emergency situation." He explained that Israel's trade agreement with the European Common Market allows for extraordinary steps in emergency situations. He also said he could foresee no effect the measures would have on the free-trade zone agreement currently being negotiated by the US and Israel.

Jewish Agency Plans US $30 Million Settlement Renovation

Avi Levy, director of the Jewish Agency's development programme for the Galilee, the Naqab and the Arava, told the board of the Zionist organisation September 11 that the Jewish Agency will spend 30 million dollars to fund 185 special projects in 60 settlements in these three regions.

He pointed out that the plan was drawn up in order to solve the demographic problems in the three areas and also to correct the negative Jewish population flow out of these regions. Levy went on to say that 105 projects had already been established or were in the process of being set up. Funds for the remaining 80 projects are still to be found. The stated objective of the projects is to improve community services and raise the standard of living of the inhabitants of these regions.

According to Levy, this allotment is not meant to replace other Jewish Agency allocations but only to augment them. Nor is the programme designed to meet governmental objectives in this area; rather, it is simply for the welfare of the settlements. The Jewish Agency checked each and every settlement and the comprehensive plan was approved at a regional level.

Among the proposed projects are public libraries, youth clubs, swimming pools, sports fields, auditoriums for cultural events and community centres. Special emphasis is being placed on building child care centres to allow women in Galilee settlements to work outside the settlement, as employment in most of the settlements is hard to come by. (Translation: HaAretz, September 12, 1984)

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Escalation of Aggression

Israeli Knesset member, fascist Meir Kahane of the Kach movement, forced his way into Dheisheh Palestinian refugee camp near Bethlehem October 1 in an attempt to escalate his confrontation with the Palestinian people and to implement the wishes of many Zionist Israelis, who hope for a land free of people. Kahane and his followers were protected by the Israeli army irrespective of the subsequent reactions by camp residents.

This step encouraged and incited Gush lEmunim settlers to come from Hebron the following day and demonstrate in front of the camp. This, in turn, incited more Israelis to follow suit. The Israeli army again protected the attackers (settlers) by observing that the curfew imposed a day earlier on the camp residents was fully implemented, thus not allowing residents to either defend themselves or come out in protest against the settler action. Terror was then enforced on camp residents when Israeli authorities conducted arrests and the rounding up of people accused of throwing stones.

Kahane, other settlers and high-ranking Israeli officials aim at emptying the camp by moving its residents out. Earlier measures of closing Dheisheh camp entrances, making it something similar to a prison, and actually arresting and detaining almost every male resident of the camp have not achieved what the Israeli ruling authorities had hoped for. Submitting plans to the Knesset of moving camp residents *en masse* through the Ben Porat plan also did not bear fruit.

Camps residents will not move out of the camps unless their right of return to their original lands is fulfilled. They know that they came to these camps 36 years ago when they were forced to leave their hometowns and villages from all over Palestine. It is only natural that they leave these camps when they will one day achieve their right of return to their homes.

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A Series of Coincidences

by Bishara Bahbah

Jordan's recent decision to restore diplomatic ties with Egypt engendered a sharp debate in the Arab world and among Palestinians in the occupied territories. On the one hand, this decision was characterised as a 'courageous' move by Jordan, actualising what was bound to eventually happen... the return of Egypt into the Arab fold. Egypt is not only the largest Arab country with the largest Arab army but is as well on its way back to becoming the cradle of Arab nationalism as it was prior to Sadat's Jerusalem visit in 1977. On the other hand, some Arab nations, particularly those with close ties to Syria, condemned outright such a step, viewing it as legitimising Egypt's relations with Israel rather than as a recognition that Egypt under Mubarak is drastically different from Egypt under Sadat.

Palestinians themselves were not in agreement over the effect the decision could have on them. Some saw it as a positive step to restore Arab unity, believing that a unified Arab nation could better serve the Palestinian people in their struggle for independence than a disunified one. Others felt it was an attempt on Jordan's part to pull the rug out from under the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people in a selfish move by Jordan to win back control of the West Bank. Irrespective of how both camps perceive this new relationship, it is necessary to simply clarify the following points:

First, Egypt and Jordan are two independent Arab states and, accordingly, act in respect to their national interests. What is best for Jordan is not necessarily best for Libya, for instance. Although it would have been easier for Jordan to restore relations in accordance with an Arab League decision to that effect, they preferred to act unilaterally because the Arab League's decision-making process has become defunct and impractical. The unanimity voting process of the League gives a single dissenter the right to a veto. Hence, Libya or Syria, out of their own special interests, would have vetoed such a resolution at the Arab League. Decisions would have thus been subject to the tyranny of the minority.

On a practical level, many Arab countries have re-established contacts, on various levels, with Egypt since Mubarak's ascent to power. These countries include not only Jordan but also Iraq, Lebanon, the Arab Gulf States and even Libya.

Second, the major benefit to the Arabs, at the present time, from boycotting Egypt is merely to demonstrate resentment towards Egypt for unilaterally signing a peace treaty with Israel at the expense of other Arabs, particularly the Palestinians. However, what Mubarak has succeeded in doing is to transfer the 'peace treaty' with Israel into a non-belligerence treaty. Egyptian trade and tourism with Israel are at rock bottom and it has no ambassador in Tel Aviv. Egypt was also the first Arab country to sever diplomatic relations with El Salvador after the latter decided to move its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem earlier this year. Egypt was the one that helped the PLO in Tripoli during the savage attack by their own Palestinian 'brethren' – Abu Mousa and his gang – together with the "nationalist of all nationalists" Syria, which is run by the Alawite regime.

Syria, which so vehemently attacks Jordan for restoring relations with Egypt, finds it

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Palestinians Should Unite To Face Jordan

by Sam'an Khoury

When the government of the Hashemite regime in Jordan decided September 25 to re-establish diplomatic relations with Egypt, it was not taking an isolated step. It is only another tuck which tightens the circle of American imperialist domination in the Middle East. The move escalates attempts to tear apart united Arab ranks in facing and confronting the aggression against the Arab nation. Most significantly, it aids attempts to subvert the PLO from being a nationalist anti-imperialist front, and consequently a strong obstacle in face of the above-mentioned domination.

Jordan, under the Hashemite dynasty, has always been a key factor in implementing Western designs for this area of the world in every period of Palestinian struggle to preserve and fight for Palestinian rights in Palestine. Before and up to 1948 the Hashemites played a decisive role in suppressing and undermining the Palestinian people's efforts to stop the Zionist enterprise in Palestine from becoming a reality. Whether by conspiring with Western imperialist circles and representatives of world Zionism or by coordination with Palestinian feudal lords who, unfortunately, were in the leaders' ranks in Palestine, Jordan succeeded in ending the famous popular revolt of 1936-39 and in squelching the possibility of establishing an independent Palestinian state.

In 1948, Jordan openly opposed the government of all Palestine based in Gaza, and annexed what remained of Palestine – later to be known as the West Bank, including East Jerusalem – by force. Every attempt to re-organise Palestinian ranks and every move towards an independent Palestinian movement was brutally suppressed by the Jordanian regime. Especially difficult attacks on the national movement and the mass movement in the West Bank occurred in 1953, 1956, 1958, 1961, 1963 and 1966.

After the Jordanian regime's defeat in 1967 and the pullback of its armed forces over the people in the West Bank and as soon as the Palestinian population woke up from the shock of the blitz war and occupation of their land by Israel, they expressed their clear allegiance to the independent national movement as represented in the PLO. All this led to Arab and international recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The Arab summit conference held in Rabat, Morocco in 1974 put an end to Jordan's dreams of restoring their domination on the West Bank.

Although Jordan lost the battle in that summit, its attempts to regain power over Palestinians continued. The opportunity arose again for Jordan in 1978 at another Arab summit in Baghdad when a joint Jordanian-Palestinian committee was established to financially aid the steadfastness of the population in the West Bank. Jordan's chances of economic, and consequently social and political, control came to the surface. Bit by bit the Jordanians tightened their grip on this joint committee over the last six years until the Palestinian population in the occupied territories realised that Jordan was in practical control of their economy.

But as long as the PLO was exhibiting strength and unity while in Lebanon, Jordan could not move any further. Israel invaded Lebanon in June 1982, the PLO forces left Beirut in August 1982 and Jordan moved in quickly – by accepting officially the September 1, 1982 Reagan plan.

With the PLO scattered, Jordan began working on all fronts to undermine the sole representation of the PLO and regain control over the West Bank. New restrictions concerning movement of Palestinians in and out of the West Bank were introduced. The Joint Committee funds (steadfastness funds) were well orchestrat-

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OPINION

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Series of Coincidences

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appropriate, however, to negotiate with Israel over Lebanon through US Under-Secretary of State Richard Murphy. Syria, as well, has recognised, according to UN Under-Secretary General Brian Urquhart, "the necessity of security arrangements" to safeguard Israel's border with Lebanon.

Third, the point has to be made, and very clearly, that Arafat's presence in Amman in the wake of the announcement of restoration of relations with Egypt was a mere coincidence. Such decisions to restore relations take not only weeks but months to be carried out and it seems unlikely that both Jordan and Egypt waited anxiously for Arafat to visit Amman to make that announcement.

This equally applies to the visit of Murphy to Jordan. Although Jordan's announcement followed one day after President Reagan's to the effect that his peace initiative for the Middle East is still on the agenda and although Richard Murphy was in Amman the day the Jordanian decision was announced, these two things should not be perceived as more important than they are. Again, Jordan's announcement was planned well in advance and should not be seen as mere accompaniment to US orchestrations in the area. It should be viewed as an independent decision.

Fourth, if the objective of restoring relations between Jordan and Egypt was to coordinate policies and activities with regards to the occupied territories then so be it. They can coordinate all they want. But both Jordan and Egypt, as well as any other country, should know, if they already do not, that it is up to the Palestinians, represented by the PLO, and no one else to negotiate the future of the occupied territories. Any coalition in the world — between Arab and Arab, Arab and Israel, or Arab and a non-Arab nation — cannot force the Palestinians to let go of their basic and irreducible demand of the right to self-determination and the creation of their own state.

Fifth, it should be stressed that Egypt's change of heart demonstrated through its actions to move closer to the Arab world under the leadership of Mubarak is much more important from a practical standpoint than a change of a dot or comma in the text of the 'peace treaty' with Israel. Actions speak louder than words and it is high time that the Arabs train themselves to be shrewd diplomats rather than dogmatic losers. This is how the Zionists have succeeded so far in fulfilling their aims in Palestine under the watchful eye of the Arabs.

Sixth, an important element that may have been a factor in Jordan's timing to restore relations with Egypt is the Palestinians' own disarray over the convening of the Palestine National Council. Jordan must have calculated that the Palestinians, at least those against anything Jordanian, are too busy and too weak fighting over the convening of the council to seriously attempt to block any Jordanian move. Jordan's decision came anyway at a time when Egypt has been actively wooing most of its old friends. Egypt has just recently restored relations with both the Soviet Union and Cyprus.

Finally, while we as Palestinians consider any rapprochement between Arab countries as a step in the right direction, we refuse and resist, at the same time, anybody or any country imposing its wishes on us. Although brothers might have common goals, they still may have individual and divergent interests. As brothers in the Arab family, we welcome cooperation among Arab nations but maintain, as well, our independence and individuality.

Unite To Face Jordan

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ed; allegiance to Jordan became a condition for receiving financial support.

The deepening of the rift among Palestinian factions gave the chance to the monarchy in Jordan to manipulate certain local Palestinian elements whose self-interest and fears of the future had weakened them and made them vulnerable to political exploitation. After that Jordan's attempts became devoted to pulling the strings of not only those elements who happen to be in the leadership ranks both inside the occupied territories and outside but pulling at the whole PLO to destroy itself. Tremendous pressure was and continues to be used on those elements ranging from launching official talks to threatening local Palestinians to reviving its parliament.

Jordan was alerted again by the Aden/Algiers agreement among Palestinian factions and the possibility that the rift within the PLO would be mended and its institutions revived to play its role as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and as a strong nationalist opposer to American schemes for domination in the area.

Instead of waiting for the outcome of the US elections, as Jordan was expected to do before it took any serious move towards indulging in the American solution of the Palestinian problem — since the outcome of the Israeli elections were not exactly what these reactionary elements in the area expected — Jordan stepped up its moves in an attempt to escalate the differences in the Palestinian circles.

On the eve of Arafat's visit to Jordan, the Hashemite government announced the reestablishment of relations with boycotted Egypt, hoping that this would delay any overall repairing of relations in the PLO which was based on the Aden/Algiers agreement. Instead of leaving Palestinians the chance to continue their talks towards convening the PNC and having a united Palestinian position towards all the plans in the area, another priority suddenly surfaced. How to deal with the Jordanian step toward Egypt? How to face a step leading towards Jordan's total capitulation to American designs as did Egypt at Camp David?

The Palestinians' main priority should remain concentrated on uniting their ranks based on the Aden/Algiers agreement. They should work hard against all attempts by the extreme right and the extreme left to destroy this basis for unity.

Although the Jordanian step must be condemned and confronted first and foremost by the people of Jordan, Palestinians must consolidate their own ranks first and then play an effective role along with all Arab progressive regimes and with international progressive forces to confront the Hashemite regime in Jordan and stop it from conducting another treasonous agreement.

Dear Mr. Begin... Admit the Catastrophe

by Menachem Golan

Eli Geva was a reserve colonel in the Israeli army, in charge of the artillery bombardment of Beirut, when he resigned mid-war in protest over the viciousness and the extent of the invasion. His stand caused a crisis in Israeli army circles, especially among officers. Menachem Golan interviewed Geva for *Hadashot* magazine.

I spoke to Eli Geva this week. Twenty-eight months have passed since the '48-hour war' was launched; two years have passed since the Sabra and Shatila massacres; and now, with almost 600 men dead and 2000 injured or crippled for life, Sharon is back in the inner cabinet and Raful (Eitan) is angling to be the deputy minister of defence.

"...I still haven't been able to figure out how it all happened. How could half the nation swallow the excuses, cock-and-bull stories, sophisticated rationalisations and asinine demagoguery that served as a smokescreen for the rewriting of history whereby this devastating defeat became a great historic victory?...

"I just can't grasp how you can take a fellow from Kiryat Shemona or a kibbutz in the Galilee, call him up for reserve duty, send him out to be killed in Sidon or on the road to Bhamdoun — and face the television cameras and without blinking say: 'Not a single Jew has been killed in the Galilee for over two years.' No, no one has been killed. But tell me, where did this soldier come from? From Uzbekestan? From South Yemen? And now that he's been killed, what are you going to tell his family? 'Hello, your husband has been killed. What did you expect — he was a soldier, not a civilian.'

"...Now, I believe that the real catastrophe was not so much the war itself — history is full of short wars that deviated from their original aim. The real catastrophe is the fact that we've grown accustomed to the war. We've made our peace with it and today it's part and parcel of our daily lives. Like inflation, like the economic mess, like Sharon. It's taken for granted, like the sunshine in the summer and the rain during the winter. It has become a fact of life we must live with because it seems impossible to change. But it's a catastrophe — this apathy and indifference! When the TV newscaster informs us that "two more soldiers were wounded in Lebanon today," we go right on eating sunflower seeds.

"I've been contacted by women from 'Mothers Against Silence.' Over the past two years I've received many calls from bereaved mothers. They ask how I am and they ask for my advice. They're not all that sure that they've embarked on the right course. Perhaps, they say, our grief and pain are clouding our judgement. Perhaps in two years everything will look different. Maybe the proportions will change. Maybe then we'll be able to differentiate between our emotions and what is rational. But I tell them not to cease. I encourage them not to keep silent and to remain steadfast. I explain that one need not be a military or political expert in order to decide what is good for the country. The crux of the matter is whether or not they'll be allowed to express their dissent. And furthermore, they have every right to demand clear explanations from the men who sent the army into Lebanon.

"And the answer I give them is — yes! Absolutely. Not only is dissent a right, one can protest and petition and turn the country upside down if that's what it takes to get some answers. It is our duty to do this. It is our duty not to leave the 'heroes' of the war alone. I think that if someone feels he hasn't received his due, whether in a personal sense or a national one, he shouldn't sit still for a single second.

"The 400,000 people that gathered in the Kings of Israel Square two years

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"Declarations and proposals abound. But if after a year of hearing this type of thing I see a column of tanks advancing into Lebanon to stage mopping up operations, it can only serve to make me draw certain conclusions about their way of thinking, their limited scope and their latest attempt to throw sand in our eyes."

Education and academic degrees have always been very important in Palestinian society — and sometimes ends in themselves. Al-Bir Society in Jericho is teaching for a practical future, as Maher Abu Khater describes in this overview of a West Bank vocational school.

Jericho Orphanage Evolves Into Vocational School

Al-Bir's poultry farm: "The only West Bank vocational institution that accepts students with a sixth-grade education."

For 32 years, al-Bir Society (*Jam'iet al-Bir Bi'abna al-Shuhada*) has been teaching practical trades to young Palestinians in areas like carpentry, blacksmithing, farming, tailoring and dry cleaning and graduating tradesmen after three years of apprenticeship.

Al-Bir Society is the only West Bank vocational institution that accepts students with a sixth-grade education. Usually vocational schools here take only students who have finished the third preparatory level (ninth grade) and who are not able, academically or financially, to continue with their education or who want to study an industrial profession.

Al-Bir, according to director Tariq Zaki Said, "saw a need to take in young students rather than let them roam the streets doing nothing." Teenagers between 12 and 16 years were given priority in school admission. "At that age they can handle the heavy machinery they will work with in the industrial school and are old enough to think on their own," Said explained. Most of these students have finished the sixth grade and are "academically ready to take on a profession." They could decide for themselves at that age whether they wanted to continue with an academic education or take on a professional career in industry.

Carpenter Mahmoud Salameh, 20, said, "I went to al-Bir because I wanted to study an industrial profession." Salameh graduated from the school in 1982 as a carpenter and was one of the best in his class. He had an advantage, however, over his classmates because while in school he worked at his cousin's carpentry shop. He joined the school when he was only 16 and said he had no desire at that age to continue in regular school.

There is still the temptation for students to combine gainful employment with on-the-job training. Saleh Malki, a furniture shop owner in Ramallah, also went to al-Bir to study carpentry but quit after his second year in 1972 when he and his brother opened an upholstery shop. At the time Malki said he was pleased with the education at the school but now believes that "going to any kind of school is a waste of time because one does not learn anything from school but only from real work."

Al-Bir Society was established November 6, 1952 near Aqbat Jabr refugee camp on the outskirts of Jericho. It began as an elementary school for children of Palestinian martyrs, orphans and the poor. Its founder, Zaki Mohammed Said, was moved by the tragedy of the first Arab-Israeli war in 1948 which left more than one million Palestinians as refugees and disintegrated independent Palestinian society.

In 1957 a preparatory school was added and in 1961 the school shifted emphasis from academic to vocational teaching. In the beginning most of the students were from Aqbat Jabr, which before the 1967 Arab-Israeli war sheltered 70,000 refugees. After 1967 almost 90 percent of the camp's residents escaped across the Jordan River to the East Bank. Activities of the society slacked off then but picked up soon after its doors were opened to students from all over the West Bank and Gaza, according to Tariq Said.

"We now accommodate students from all over the occupied territories," said Said. "We had to open a dormitory for our students and added a kitchen and other necessary facilities although this put extra financial burdens on us."

In 1967 a day-care center was added to the school which this year has 65 children from the camp and in 1980 the vocational school was expanded to include a section to teach farming, including the raising of poultry. A 100 dunum lot across from the school was donated by the Muslim *waqf* for the students to cultivate as part of their farming practice. The school can only farm vegetables since the Israeli military government bans the planting of trees in open land in Jericho. The poultry farm was built in cooperation with the United Holy Land Fund, an Arab-American non-profit organisation based in the US, and has been producing chicken for local consumption. This year the school has 150 students in all fields. About 800 students have graduated in the various trades.

"Finding work after graduating is not easy," Salameh said. "I was lucky because I had experience and a job waiting for me at my cousin's shop." Salameh now works at another big carpentry shop in Ramallah. Salameh had had high hopes concerning his career in carpentry. "My great hobby was to learn a profession," he said. "I wanted to travel abroad and work after finishing but now everything is closed to us. So I had to stay here and work for a meagre salary. Work now is very slow because of the bad economic situation. New graduates most probably will have a hard time finding a job and some I know were out of work for several months and finally ended up working in Israel because they were not able to find work at Arab shops."

There was some criticism among students of the training programme. One student who refused to be identified complained, "There were times students sat around doing nothing." He said that the students learn the most from practical work but that happens only when there is an order placed from outside. Otherwise the students end up making small items which are not practical in the real world. Malki said one of the most enjoyable times was when they would stay up all night working on large orders. "Students like to do real and challenging work because that is how they learn the most," he said. "We used to love it when we would get a big order that included doing complicated carpentry work like closets, beds and chairs."

Salameh complained that some students did not benefit because the brightest students got to do all the work while the rest ended up watching them. Teachers are afraid that the inexperienced students might ruin the work and lose the order, Salameh said.

The society's president, Said, said, "Thirty percent of the income of the school comes from work it contracts commercially." Outside orders are crucial to the school for generating revenue and teaching students. When one of the students was asked what do they do if there are no orders placed, he nodded his head and said, "We get bored." Malki did not totally agree and said that when there is no commissioned work they do little things just to keep on practising. But, he added, the small pieces do not help much to learn about real carpentry.

Said agreed that if there is no ,e commercial orders work at the iool is slow. He said they had not had › face this problem so far, however, oecause orders have been coming in regularly. "UNICEF has placed an order for furniture for 120 classrooms for West Bank schools which they intend to donate to the schools," he said. "Al-Bir receives such orders regularly and will get more soon," Said said. He added that "even if there is no commercial order, the students still do non-commercial work in order to keep up the practice."

The students' first year is mainly theory and design and simple practical work like filing or cutting wood. The second year is more popular since students begin practical work, like doors in the case of carpentry. The third year students concentrate on more complicated jobs. A three-year programme was designed because most businesses ask for a degree and three years' experience when hiring new employees.

In addition to the money from student production, the school receives aid from local and foreign charitable organisations. Said explained that without this assistance the school would have folded a long time ago. He said two-thirds of the students are boarders and the school must furnish them with lodging and meals, in addition to improving its facilities and regular maintenance.

The school's administration is trying to build new classrooms in place of the clay brick structures currently used and to install fans to make work and study somewhat comfortable in the intense Jericho heat. The new building, which is intended to house two new classes for teaching car mechanics and television and radio electronics, is expected to be finished by October or November if funds come in, according to Said.

Most of the students at the school are from West Bank villages. "We prefer this to city students," said Said. "Village students usually return to their villages and help in developing them. We put a condition on students to return to their village when they graduate." The city students usually go to city vocational schools which have better weather conditions than Jericho and better transportation facilities.

The society also gives financial aid to needy students. According to Said, "Last year we gave 20 university students from the West Bank between 40 and 60 Jordanian dinars to help defray tuition fees. This year 25 students will benefit from it." But students are not the only beneficiaries. Needy families get help from the society as well. "We help elderly people by giving them food, repairing their homes and in winter we supply them with kerosene for heating," Said said. The school is also planning to admit handicapped students with minor retardation and teach them professions like upholstery and dry cleaning. This year two mentally handicapped students successfully graduated. Already 10 have applied for next year but only five will be chosen from among them.

Said hopes his school will be able to expand and grow in the future so that it will be able to fully serve society.

'Who Are You?'
'I Am the Arabs From Gaza!'

Palestinian refugees in Gaza have become a class of migrant workers. They suffer the indignation, dehumanisation and alienation of imigrant workers everywhere, yet with the added insult that their employers are their dispossessors. Gideon Levi tells *HaAretz* readers how Israeli racism has robbed these 'woodcutters and water-carriers' of human dignity.

Palestinians looking for wage labour on the 'black market': "Dehumanisation — a well-tried remedy — has allowed us to see them in such a way in order that we may ignore them."

In order to understand, one must look for oneself; but something inside us does not want to see. Nor hear. Nor least of all, draw any conclusions. (What conclusions can one draw?) But it seems as though sight cannot be avoided.

Already in the early hours of the dawn, as garbage trucks make their rounds, we hear voices that linger long into the night in the back rooms of restaurants and in the kitchens of pubs as we make our way to the toilet in the rear of the bar. "Ahmed, bring me some water." "Issam, two eggs, sunnyside up." Indeed, one cannot escape the sight no matter where one turns; whether on the side of the road, in public parks, by the garbage bins, in the back alleys, or even, ironic as it may be, in trucks collecting paper to be recycled on behalf of the Soldiers' Aid Society. The same dark and shabby figures — whose teeth are stained, whose faces are unshaven and whose eyes always seem to express something between despair and resignation, between hate and submission. You won't find a smile there, let alone hear anyone laughing. There are 40,000 according to one estimate, more than 100,000 according to another. For 17 years they have been the woodcutters and water-carriers. Our guest workers. The workers from the occupied territories.

In order to understand one must look for oneself; the sight is not easy to bear. The majority of people do not bother at all, taking the situation for granted. The more sensitive minority tries to run away from it. Or repress it. For it seems better not to think about it. After two weeks of observing the workers from the territories, I have been driven to the conclusion that the majority of us simply ignore them. A passing car receives more attention than the figure behind the wheelbarrow. A small dog will catch the eye of passers-by while the man cleaning the doorway of the apartment block goes unnoticed. It's either a matter of not caring or a matter of feeling uncomfortable. And total disregard is about the best they can expect.

Natan Alterman once wrote some wonderful lines about a pistachio vender by the name of Yochai: "Did his mother foresee/ For he had a mother once/ That this is how her son would live?" The workers from the territories are bereft of mothers and happiness, children and dreams, families and crises, culture, manners and thoughts about future plans. Dehumanisation — a well-tried remedy — has allowed us to see them in such a way in order that we may ignore them. But after having spoken with a few of them, one is surprised to learn that they do have mothers and dreams, affections and antipathies, and, strange as it may seem, even surnames! Some of the ones I met even had manners, and — wonder of wonders — culture.

Be that as it may, dehumanisation has another facet. It is not simply a matter of a state of consciousness; the realities of their lives have robbed many of them of human dignity. The sights I saw this past week, when I visited the places where they live in Tel Aviv, bore witness to their alienation from human society.

According to the most recent statistics, 48,702 workers from the occupied territories were employed in Israel in July of this year: 13,879 in construction; 18,423 in industry; 12,804 in services; and 3596 in agriculture. Given the fact that this estimate was made by the Employment Office — whose figures only include those workers registered with them — one must reckon this to be roughly half the total sum. Perhaps less.

The great majority of workers from the territories are prohibited from remaining in the state of Israel after midnight. But even so, many remain. The IS800 to 1000 it costs to take a service taxi to Gaza or the IS500 bus ride can leave them with only a fraction of their daily wages by the time they return home.

This week I saw where and how they spend their nights in Tel Aviv and I couldn't believe my eyes. Right in our midst, often in north Tel Aviv, one spots a ramshackle hut between two exclusive buildings, or a dingy corner in a cellar, or part of a storeroom where four, eight or even ten workers from the territories regularly sleep. In a horrid shack on the Sheraton Beach in Tel Aviv I found two large halls crammed with at least forty workers. It was filled with old metal beds, rotting mattresses and sometimes two men had to make do with a single bed. There are always a few bits of food in the kitchen, which is located under each worker's bed. One day this week I saw them at noontime; the old men just sat and stared; the younger ones whiled away their time before going off for another day of back breaking work.

Often you will see them in the kitchens of restaurants, trying to get some sleep on a tabletop. One cafe owner boasted to me this week that he didn't leave his workers to fend for themselves. In another place, I saw an old cupboard used as a mattress for two.

Their workday usually fits a standard pattern. Those who go home every-day must wake up before the break of dawn to get to work. Hundreds gather at the Gaza depot at 4 am in order to get to work on time. Since there is always the danger of being delayed by a roadblock for an hour or even an hour and a half, they must be ready to leave at a little after four. The luckier ones are on their way to their places of employment; the others will have to wait around at the black labour markets in Jaffa, the flea market, or Bnei Brak, until a Jewish well-wisher offers them a day of work. If not, they will retur. home at nightfall, IS1000 poorer after the trip to Tel Aviv. And that is a hard blow to take.

Those who live in Tel Aviv usually try to find more than one job. Often they work on construction sites in the morning and in restaurants in the evening. Once or twice a week, they are stopped by the police, or the civil guard, in the middle of the street. Some are even held for 48 hours for not having a permit. But usually they are searched, rudely interrogated and then set free. At least once or twice a day they have to endure insults from Israelis. They all speak of getting hostile looks at least once every hour. Their wages consist of no more than IS1500 — 2000 for a day of hard work, often 10 hours long. They work in restaurant or cafe kitchens; a few work as waiters; many are hired for cleaning jobs by Jewish contractors, who siphon off their earnings; others work in industrial plants. In any case, they are not paid as much as Israelis are, even though they may be performing the same task.

And so it is day after day and year after year. Most of them, waging a fierce struggle to survive, are too busy to think about any possible solution to their problems. But some of the younger ones have been able to hold out. They hope for a day, in the words of one of them, (who asked not to be named), "when I have a decent uniform, and decent food, and the opportunity of serving in the army — any army — so that I can protect my tiny bit of land. I long for a day when I can roam around at night without a permit." But aside from resignation and hope, there is a great deal of bitterness and even hatred. However, for the meantime, the struggle for existence has blunted its sting.

According to his friends, Juma Sayid Sheikh was once an excellent soccer player. He could have been a local star. But now, at the age of 22, he has given up the game, although once in a while he joins the Jewish children playing beside his North Tel Aviv room. Not too long ago, one of the children playing soccer with Juma was called aside by his father and reprimanded for "playing with an Arab." "I heard that," said Juma, "and my whole body began to tremble. I almost keeled over." Since then, he has become an almost total stranger to the soccer field.

A few months ago, at the height of the election campaign, Juma happened to be standing in the doorway of the restaurant where he was working when Shimon Peres — the leader of the Labour Party — passed by, "pressing flesh." Juma took a deep breath, and plucking up all his courage, made his way through the security men in order to speak to the candidate. "What about us?" he asked. "Who are you?" asked Peres. "The Arabs from Gaza," he replied. "Everything will be alright," said Peres, as he continued on his way. "That kept me happy for a whole week. But today I no longer believe that anything will change." This week Juma was thrilled by the idea that what he was saying would be printed in the newspaper. One of his friends told me that in the end it would not be any different from the handshake he received from Peres.

Juma has been working in restaurants for a few years. Before that he did other work. He was trained to be a welder in Gaza, where he was born, the son of a middle-class family. The difference between his Tel Aviv attire and the three-piece suit he is wearing in a picture he showed me is telling. He has recently married but is too embarrassed to bring his wife to Tel Aviv. He is considered something of a leader among his fellow workers, always ready to let someone sleep over in his room if need be. He has helped many find work. Once as many as eight people spent the night in his room, which is actually a storeroom. Once every two weeks he returns home to his wife and parents. "I don't like listening to people talk about the fact that I work in Israel. I always say that I work in Tel Aviv or Jaffa, but not in Israel." When I asked him if he hated Jews, he replied, "I hate Jews the way you hate Arabs." All the Jews? I asked. "No," he said, "35 percent are okay, but 65 percent aren't. They hate the Arabs. They don't give a damn about the way we live. They yell at us and never stop for a moment to consider that everyone of us has a mother at home, waiting for us to return."

It's worth taking a look at his budget, even though his standard of living is higher than that of his friends. He earns about IS80,000 a month (for a ten-hour workday). IS36,000 go for rent; his employer who lives close by, chips in US$40 for the opportunity of storing a few dozen chairs in the room. IS12,000 a month go to buy cigarettes; and IS1000 a day for food. He spends IS4000 a month on travel. And that's that. There are months when he needs help from home. In his case, it is a possibility.

But the feelings he is nurturing in his room cannot all be traced back to his material conditions. "About twice a week I'm stopped by teenagers serving in the Civil Guard. The way they treat me! Some of them are even younger than I am — why do they act the way they do? They aren't obliged to behave that way when they stop me. Why don't they show any courtesy? Or allow me my dignity? It drives me crazy!" Sometimes he buys an Arab paper. *Al Fajr* is his favourite. There are plenty of old newspapers on his desk. "I read every paper at least twice because I can't always afford a copy." In his cupboard he had an old copy of *Time* magazine, with the horrible pictures of Sabra and Shatila massacres. (The day after our interview Juma phoned me. Perhaps it would be better if I didn't write about the copy of *Time* magazine. They could do something about it. Perhaps I was a bit naive, but I assured him that it was no crime to be in possession of a copy of *Time* in Israel. Even for a worker from the occupied territories.)

Hope seems to have been denied to him. "It will never get any better for us. If you would have acted a bit better there might have been more hope." In the course of the hour I spent with him he did not smile once. Afterwards we went to visit some of the places where his friends lived and I understood why he didn't smile. In my heart I wondered what exactly Juma could hope for, given the kind of life he leads. Afterwards, I thought about the wonderful and surprising story of Rashid.

There's a cliche about the exception to the rule revealing the general situation. It has never been on my mind as much as during the week I spent meeting and talking with Rashid Mashrawi. He is one of the few Palestinians from the occupied territories who has managed to break into Israeli society. In a rented apartment in the centre of Tel Aviv (albeit, without a permit) and an Israeli girl friend, Rashid Mashrawi, born in Shatta refugee camp in Gazi, is one of the most wanted set designers in the Israeli movie industry. In Uri Barnash's new film, *Behind the Wall* Rashid designed the prison sets with a great deal of artistic skill. He has also worked on *Sahara* and other films. He has occasionally played a part (in *Naguah* for instance).

Sitting in his Tel Aviv apartment, Rashid spoke fluent Hebrew, freely using the idioms of Tel Aviv. A mattress on the floor, and a pack of Noblese cigarettes nearby, made it seem a typical bohemian apartment. Occasionally, a film maker would phone up to make arrangements with him. Once a week he goes home — to Shatta. He still has to work as a waiter twice a week to make ends meet. Sometimes he escapes into the studio he sets up in the corner of his room, where he works on his strange surrealistic paintings. His friends are both Arab and Jewish. And so are his girlfriends.

Although he was once a worker from the occupied territories, like so many others, Rashid has managed to get ahead. His wonderful story, his dreams, and thoughts are best described in his own words. Nevertheless, his complicated situation made it necessary for him to observe certain strict rules. He asked me to refrain from writing certain things and although he wanted to get away from politics, time and again he found himself drawn back to the subject. His story is the story of an exceptional person, and yet it reveals a lot about the fate of those less fortunate than him. For although Rashid is one of the few who managed to get ahead, he has never forgotten where he comes from and the place he plans to return to one day. To Shatta. To Gaza.

"I was born in 1962, in Shatta refugee camp. My father was an expert tile worker and my parents had five sons and two daughters. My parents were orginally from Jaffa; their house was where the Dolphinarium now stands. When the 1967 war broke out I was only five, and I don't remember anything special about it, except for a month-long curfew that took place when I was seven. I went to school until grade nine. During our vacation breaks I would help my father, who was at the time doing tile work in Tel Aviv. He did the tiles for the Drugstore Restaurant on Dizengoff St. and the Cave Club in Jaffa. When I was fourteen my father developed diabetes and had to stop working. Since someone had to pay the bills, my brother and I went out to work. That's how I came to work on construction sites in Tel Aviv; I was fifteen years old. One of the buildings I worked on was Beit Kalka."

A Piece of Property

"I felt like a slave. Until then I had been used to eating breakfast before school and coming home after school to a prepared meal. I had never washed the dishes at home. At most I would do the shopping if my mother nagged me enough. And all of a sudden I found myself having to drag a sack of cement up a flight of stairs. I used to get up before four and I wouldn't get back from work till evening. My days were spent working, sleeping and travelling to and from work. Soon I came to the point of not knowing what kind of food I liked — I used to eat what was given to me — or what colour clothes I liked to wear — because I wore whatever was lying around. People talk about free choice. Well, I lost mine. My wages at the time did not amount to more than IS180 a day; I would spend 50 on buses, food and cigarettes and the remaining 130 would just cover our household expenses. I didn't have anything left for entertainment or buying paints — I started painting as a child — not to mention movies. But I didn't demand very much at the time and I didn't expect the Israelis to treat me kindly. After all, I was part of a conquered population. I had only one goal — money. I wanted to bring money home and it made me angry that even if I worked alongside with Yitzhak or Yoram, they would always get paid better money for doing less work.

"After a year spent working in construction I began working as a barman in the Cave Club. The work was easier but the hours were longer — from five in the afternoon to three in the morning. I served champagne and soft drinks. I was attracted to the Old City of Jaffa, where I met Moshe Gat, the painter. I would visit the galleries when I had time. The other workers used to sleep on tables in the restaurant, but I got a small apartment downstairs on condition I kept it clean. My friends didn't sleep well nor did they eat well. I often saw people driven to despair and apathy; after a while they would just give up trying to maintain their appearance.

"Whoever talks about the way Arabs look ought to ask himself why they look that way. Let me tell you, their fathers didn't take them to nursery school in a car or bring them fancy toys when they were growing up. They had to start working at a young age. And that makes you forget about yourself. You just become a piece of property — the property of the restaurant where you work — no different than the dishwashing machine — and the property of your parents (as long as you bring home money).

"You have to fill a car with gas if you want it to run, but as workers, we weren't given a thing to keep us going. I have a school friend who is now a cleaner and most of the time the fellow just sits and stares. In order not to be dismissed from work, he doesn't flinch at ruining his looks or his health. Listen, God created men so that they could develop but we weren't given any time in which to develop, or to think about who and what we are. Arab society tries to comfort us by telling us that we're getting money. And when we tell them that our bosses beat us and treat us like shit, they say, at least he pays your wages. When you tell them you want to take a week off they tell you that if you do, your parents will die of starvation. That's why everyone turns himself into

"How they spend their nights..." — four, eight, maybe ten workers to a room.

a machine. Into a piece of property.

"While I was working at the Cave I learned English and Hebrew from the clients and I even bought myself a block of drawing paper and some paints. I soon began to see that whenever a Jewish client would realise that I was an Arab, he would take it for granted that I was there only to serve him. Forget about courtesy. There's a difference between asking someone to "please bring a glass of water" and demanding "a glass of water — on the double!" But I no longer take it as hard as I once did.

"After the Cave I went to work in a blintz restaurant and I had a bit more spare time. I even began to go to the movies once in a while. That's how I met Ram Elrom, who lives in North Tel Aviv; he studied film and when he saw my paintings, he was impressed and said that my talents were being wasted working as a waiter. I asked him what I could do and he said that I could work with him. I couldn't believe it. You see, I had always seen myself as an Arab, a person who was not allowed to advance beyond a certain limit. He was making films for all sorts of companies and I worked with him on a film for the Sneh Insurance Corporation. He taught me a few things about sets and after a few days took me on. I also played the part of a worker — they were making films for a variety of insurance companies — and I played the part of a worker who throws his lighted cigarette away without looking, and also the part of a negligent machine operator.

"My experience of having worked with tiles and my painting allowed me to create textures and backdrops that were better than anything else around. I decorated the Makom Restaurant and the Plitz Cafe, working together with Itamar Neuman. That's how I got into the movies. My first job was for *Sahara* with Brooke Shields. I met Bashir Abu Rafia, a Beduin from the Abu Rafia tribe from the Naqab, who was glad to have another Arab working on the set. He taught me a lot and since then, I've been working on film sets.

"I'll only have peace of mind if I can provide myself with what I need. But I've grown accustomed to not having high expectations in order not to be hurt. That's why if I only have IS100 in my pocket, I will settle for a felafel and not demand a steak. I don't want to live in Tel Aviv for a number of reasons. I don't get the same treatment a Jew gets and I don't think I'll ever get it. I don't have an overnight permit and there are people here, who in spite of the fact that I don't know them, give me dirty looks on the street.

"A lot of Jews who hate the Arabs won't exactly take to me either; if they find me intelligent, I'll have to answer for disturbing their stereotype, whereby Arabs are devoid of brains. This is an experience I've had time and time again in hotels; sometimes while working on films, I've spent time at hotels; suddenly it's the Jews who have to wake me up in the morning, serve me breakfast and take care of room service.

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Labour has long pretended to be more 'moderate' on the issue of West Bank settlements than Likud. Meron Benvenisti, a settlement watcher, points out that in their most recent deal, Labour really had very little about which to disagree with the Likud – and even at the current 'slow' rate of present colonisation, the government's settlement objectives could well be met by the year 2010, as Yehuda Litani writes for *HaAretz*.

The Illusory Settlement Freeze

The preservation of the current political *status quo* between Jews and Arabs in the occupied territories works to the benefit of Jewish settlers. So concludes Dr Meron Benvenisti, the director of a research institute for the study of the occupied territories, in response to the accord worked out between the Labour Alignment and Likud which limits the number of new settlements to be established in the course of the coming year to five or six, a meaningless settlement 'freeze'. Even if the Labour Alignment had formed a minority government and froze all settlement development in the occupied territories, Benvenisti is convinced that such a freeze would have come too late. In his view, the government must generate new conditions if they want to keep options open. This entails returning to the conditions which existed a few years ago. Land which has been declared state property would have to be relinquished and the Arab mayors and other public officials who were removed from office would have to be allowed to return to their positions.

Benvenisti points out that from 1982 to the end of its period in office, the Likud government authorised the establishment of 69 new settlements in the West Bank. In the northern West Bank alone, the ministerial settlement committee, headed by Minister Yuval Ne'eman, has authorised the establishment of 22 settlements. Seven of them are already occupied (including two military settlements), spadework is being carried out on another six, three are under construction, and two are still on the drawing board. Moreover, the list of the 24 to 26 settlements (to be established in the West Bank) which Shamir presented to Peres includes settlements that are already inhabited, settlements under construction, military installations which are to be turned into civilian settlements, and settlements that were not authorised by the ministerial committee.

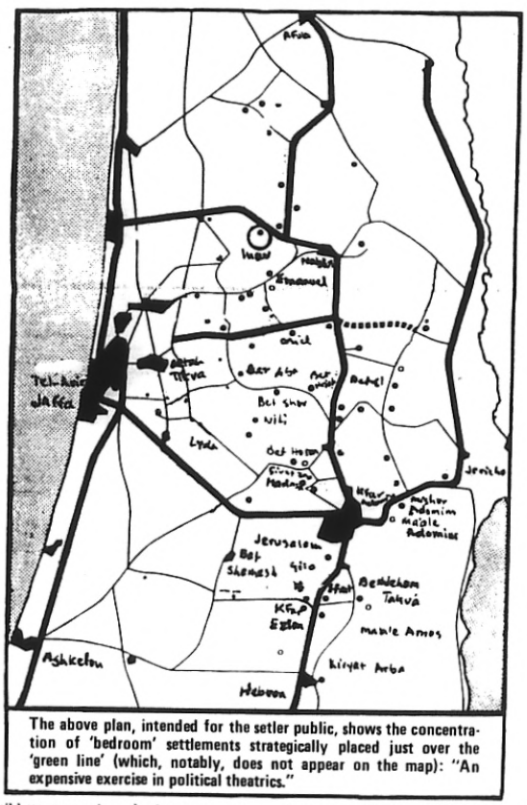
According to Benvenisti: "Of the 24 to 26 settlements mentioned in the press, the majority are located in the Rosh Ha'ayin-Kfar Saba-Ariel triangle in the north, in close proximity to the 1967 border. Twelve settlements are slated for this area; the others are in the Gush Etzion bloc, on the southern slopes of Mt Hebron. It's important to point out that only four of the 26 settlements agreed upon by Likud and the Labour Alignment are not in areas earmarked for settlement by Labour.

"The plan of the ministerial settlement committee calls for the government to establish 70 new settlements in the West Bank by the year 2010. At present, only 20 of the projected 70 are not in some stage of being established. It would seem that they have almost reached the quota they set for themselves for the next quarter century.

"If we go through the list of settlements agreed upon by the Labour Alignment and Likud it quickly becomes apparent that a significant number of them – if not the majority – are to be established in the north. A 'build your own home' scheme will free the government from having to underwrite this concentration of suburban neighbourhoods. The government will only be responsible for the spadework. The settlers will build their homes at their own expense. This fact makes the settlement 'freeze' quite a dubious affair. With a 'build your own home' scheme, government involvement ends when the ground has been cleared for construction. The government does not build any of the houses. In the concentration of suburban settlements just west of Ariel, new neighbourhoods are being established all the time. Elkana Dalet is being built right beside Elkana Gimel, Ofarim Alef is being built alongside Ofarim. And this is true of many other settlements, such as Nofim, Brucheil, Ma'ale Nili and others.

"The groundwork has been completed for many new settlements and neighbourhoods in which homes have not yet been built. Will the government 'freeze' affect areas where the spadework has been completed but homes have not yet been constructed? These settlements actually belong to private investors; once they received the okay from the ministerial committee, they began investing. It is impossible to renege on the authorisation they have taken for granted up till now.

"The people in the Labour Alignment do not really understand what is at stake. They think that this is still the Yigal Alon era. They are unaware that the settlements have given way to suburban settlements established near large urban areas in close proximity to the 1967 border. The Hadar-Betar settlement, located beside the village of Battir, will in time come to resemble an urban neighbourhood like Ramot, which is quite close by. Characteristically, during the negotiations between the two parties, Ariel Sharon proposed that they visit the areas under discussion. Yitzhak Rabin responded by saying; "We don't have to go now – we can go after we've reached an agreement." The Labour Alignment people believe that the new settlements will have to be built from scratch. But actually, what we are talking about are villas built in large suburban areas. The largest concentration of suburban settlements is west of Ariel. New neighbourhoods are being added on all the time. Elkana Gimel and Sharei Tikva located on the other side of the Elkana Road – are really just extensions of Elkana. The 15 to 20 settlements on the slopes of Mt. Hebron do not amount to much more than an expensive exercise in political theatrics. Given the population turnover of the 20 to 25 families living there, it is apparent that with the exception of Kedumim, Ofra, Shilo and Elon Moreh, they are not viable and amount to a political provocation which is costing the state a great deal of money.



The above plan, intended for the setler public, shows the concentration of 'bedroom' settlements strategically placed just over the 'green line' (which, notably, does not appear on the map): "An expensive exercise in political theatrics."

"When the Labour Alignment talks about the Alon Plan, it's important to realise that there are three different Alon Plans. The first called for a string of settlements in the 10 kilometre zone west of the Jordan River. Later, 10 kilometres became 20, only to be broadened once again to take in the area between the Jordan and the Alon Road near the hills. The plan was revamped at a later date to to include Kiryat Arba and the eastern part of Mt. Hebron. But even this final version of the Alon Plan was appendaged with yet two more plans which the Alignment decided on while Alon was still alive.

"The first calls for expanding Jerusalem were the brainchild of the late Minister Avraham Ofer. His 'dovish' outlook made him believe that we should make do with fortifying the Jerusalem corridor. The Ofer Plan resulted in Jerusalem's border settlement – Ma'aleh Adumim to the east, Beit El to the north and Efrat and Gush Etzion to the south. The Likud government has not finished implementing this plan.

"The second plan was the work of Israel Galilee in his role as the chairperson of the Ministerial Settlement Committee. It calls for expanding settlement in Samaria, Elkana and Ariel were established on the basis of this plan which also set the borders for Jewish settlement on the slopes of Mt. Hebron.

"The Likud did its share over the years by filling the area between the north and the Alon zone with settlements.

"The absurdity of it all is that of the 20,000 housing units slated for construction by 1986 by the Likud, 85 percent of these units are located in areas over which the Likud and the Labour Alignment have no quarrel. As regards the financing of this project, the amount needed to implement it comes to IS1,880,000,000 of which US $1,500,000,000 are for areas which are not contested by the Alignment, being either part of the Alon Plan or of the Ofer-Galilee Plan.

"Another absurd feature of the Alon Plan is the Labour Alignment's policy regarding the Jordan Valley, on which there is a national consensus. Inspite of this fact, the Alignment fixed its sights on the northern West Bank in order not to appear too hawkish, as the latter could be included in a border readjustment agreement, while the valley and the plain, lying to the east of the population centres, virtually locks the Arab population in a bear hug.

"The Alon Plan does have some value though, if it is not appendaged and acts as a bullwark against expansion into other areas. However at present, this is not the case. As soon as the Labour Alignment began to tamper with it, it lost any meaning it might have had; the situation in 1984 and the scores of settlements strewn throughout the area have reduced it to the level of farce. Every new authorised settlement acts like a link in a chain with other settlement zones. Implementing the Alon Plan in 1984 is like opening an umbrella once you've been soaked to the bone.

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Palestine and Culture

Salvador Arnita:
A Palestinian 'Musicman' Remembered

Salvador Arnita was a Palestinian dedicated to the music of both East and West. Tania Nasir, in a reprint from *The Middle East*, looks at Arnita's lifelong musical accomplishments. He died this year following a painful illness.

Music lovers in the Arab world will feel the loss of one of the region's most dedicated music makers — Salvador Arnita, the Palestinian composer and teacher who died this year in Amman after a painful illness. Until recently Salvador and his wife Yusra lived in Beirut where he was chairman of the music department of the American University (AUB).

Music, of both West and East, dominated Salvador's life. He started his long and distinguished career in Jerusalem where he was born in 1914. He came from a musical family and his own talents were developed at an early age. When he was nine years old, he was playing the organ at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

By the time he was 16, organ and composition at the Academy of Santa Cecilia in Rome. Two years later he went to England to study choral and orchestral conducting at the Guildhall School of Music in London. While studying in Europe, Salvador paid special visits to Alexandria, Egypt, where he worked as organist and choirmaster at St. Catherine's Cathedral.

In 1934 he returned to Jerusalem and became music director at the YMCA. Audiences from all over Palestine flocked to hear his weekly organ recitals, and his Christmas carol concerts were very popular.

Salvador was also an inspiring teacher. One of the institutions to benefit from his talent was Bir Zeit College (now Bir Zeit University) where he was also choirmaster. Some of his students are now musicians in their own right. The school song which he composed at the time is still in use, as the university anthem.

Until the 1940s, Salvador was almost wholly immersed in Western music. Arabic music interested him little and it was only after his marriage to Yusra Jawharieh that his thoughts turned in this direction.

Yusra's father, Wasif Jawharieh, was an outstanding amateur musician. His home in Jerusalem was a meeting-place for many Palestinian, Syrian and Egyptian musicians and he owned an excellent collection of Arab musical instruments. Yusra was greatly influenced by her father and apart from playing the piano, she also learnt to play the *oud* and the *kanoun*.

She was always conscious of the beauty of Arabic music and sought to convey it on a programme she produced and broadcast when she worked at the radio station in Jerusalem. Gradually Salvador came to share her knowledge and love of Arabic music.

In 1948 the Arnitas fled Jerusalem for Beirut and what they expected would be a short-term visit became a life-long stay. Salvador taught music at AUB and became director of the choir.

In 1956 he and Yusra spent a year at Harvard University on a Rockefeller scholarship, and carried out research into the orchestration of Arabic music. Salvador also joined the American Guild of Organists and conducted the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra when it performed one of his compositions.

On his return to Beirut, Salvador continued his research, which sought to integrate elements of Arabic and Western music. He did not employ Western harmonies in common use, but went back to the old modal forms of music where he found some common elements with Arabic music.

He introduced quarter tones and Arabic instruments in his symphonic compositions, and always tried to find the Arabic instruments best suited to perform with a Western orchestra. For instance, in one performance Salvador conducted a Western-style piece in which he introduced a folk drummer who played a solo in Arabic style.

Salvador composed some 200 pieces in all, mostly for symphony orchestra, orchestra and chorus or organ solo. He also composed a *cantata dramatico* based on Mahmoud Darwish's famous poem *Sajjel ana Arabi* (Write down, I am an Arab).

Together with Yusra, he wrote two books for school children, *Shadi* and *Shadia*, named after their own two children. One of these was a teacher's guide and the other music for songs.

A few weeks before his death, when he was already dangerously ill, he spoke with nostalgia of his days in Jerusalem. His dream was to write a national anthem for Palestine, and before he died he put the final touches to a setting of Palestinian poet Ibrahim Tougan's *Song of Palestine*.

Interviewed after his death, Yusra Arnita expressed the hope that her husband's music will be recorded in the future. She plans to continue his work as well as pursuing her own interests in the field of Arabic music and Palestinian folk music. For her, this is the commitment of a lifetime and a tribute to her husband. (Reprinted from: The Middle East, September 1984)

An Urgent Message to Our Martyrs

Said al-Ghazali examines the effect of Palestinian martyrs on the continuing struggle for a homeland, in this poem first printed in the Arabic magazine *Al Fajr al-Adabi*.

O martyrs of our great, great dream,
We attempt to read in your everlasting eyes our flashes of glory.
We attempt...

Every day we meet with your names,
like the roaring waves of the sea.
They are our birthright.
We attempt...

How can we tell of your horrifying secrets?
We attempt...

How can we maintain your martyred glory?
We attempt...

Can you see the fall of Arab, Arab rulers?
Can you see the Arab morass, silence, death and surrender?

Iz al-Din Qassam

Are you asking how are the masses?
How is their freedom?
— Very well, I answer.

How are the homelands from the Gulf to the Ocean?
— Very well, I say.

How is the Arab and his dignity?
— Very well, I answer.

How are the defeatist regimes and their festivals?
— Very well, I am sad to say.

Your ghosts gradually disappear.
The martyr Haifa dissappears.
*Qassam disappears. **
*The martyr of the tree disappears. ***

At midnight in this land of darkness,

Ghassan Kanafani

despite the rise of imperialists,
Your star still soars.
What remains for us, but you?

Your presence is our existence.
*Our existence is nothing without thousands of martyrs, thousands of coming Sayels *** and Kanafanis. ****

What remains for us but your names,
like a galaxy shining over the land of Palestine —
the land of Sayel, of Kanafani and of the martyr of the tree.

When soldiers of America spread out
in the Arab world and roar like a drunken man,
Your star still soars.

We read in your eyes our flashes of glory.

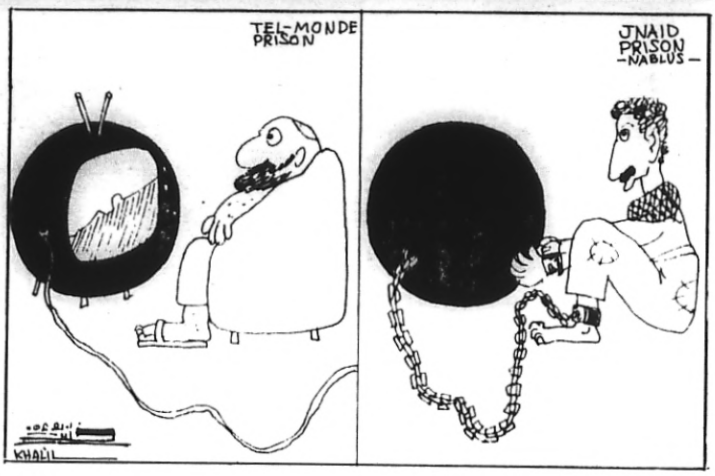
* *Iz al-Din Qassam was the first Palestinian* commando. He fought against the Zionists and British in Palestine from 1929-35. He was killed in Ya'abed near Jenin in 1935 in battle.

** *The Martyr of the Tree* was the Palestinian poet Abd al-Rahim Mahmoud who was killed in northern Palestine near the place called Shajara in 1968.

*** *Sa'ad Sayel* was commander of PLO military operations and was killed in Ba'albek in September 1982.

**** *Ghassan Kanafani* was the well-known Palestinian short story writer who was assassinated by Israeli agents in Beirut in 1976.

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



Palestinian newspapers published in the occupied territories were concerned this week mainly with the Jordanian move to establish diplomatic relations with Egypt and the hunger strike of Palestinian prisoners in Jnaid prison.

Al Sha'ab and **Al Mithaq** did not comment editorially on the Jordanian move. **Al Quds** daily supported the move while the weekly **Al Taliah** opposed it. Regarding the prisoners' strike, all papers covered the subject with reports and photos of sit-ins by prisoners' families.

Another Jordanian Step towards Camp David

The restoration of diplomatic relations between the Jordanian and Camp David regimes, after a series of other political, economic and administrative measures, the most prominent of which is the revival of the Jordanian parliament and the suppressive financial and administrative policy against the Palestinian democratic forces in the occupied land, does not leave any doubt, except for those politically blind, of a constant and well-knitted policy to replace the PLO in representing the Palestinian people and in beginning, on its behalf, negotiations based on the Reagan plan and similar American, Israeli, Egyptian plans.

Because this is the case, supporters of the Reagan Plan in the occupied land did not waste any time in declaring their support to restoring diplomatic relations between Jordan and Egypt. They understand well the connection between this decision and the Reagan plan they supported and how it is necessary to have the basis to re-work the plan after the coming American presidential elections. Murphy's shuttle moves in the Arab capitals confirm that too.

When the supporters of restoring relations with the Camp David regime, who are at the same time supporters of the Reagan plan, say that the reasons that led to severing diplomatic relations have dissolved, they mean that Arab solidarity and unity of the PLO have gone, meaning that these were the reasons which forced them to severe diplomatic relations and appearing as contradicting the Camp David accords after having welcomed it at first.

The reasons of Arab nationalists to boycott the Camp David regime still exist and are stronger when they see the role of this regime in serving American imperialism and they see the regimes losing Egyptian national sovereignty and opening the way for multi-national occupation in Sinai, the Suez Gulf and Ras Banas.

In this regard the situation calls on Arab national forces and especially the Palestinian national factions to remove fast the 'reasons' which led the Arab reactionary regimes to restore their diplomatic relations with Egypt by reuniting the PLO and restoring Arab grassroots solidarity.

The Jordanian measure taken in connection with previous measures in addition to Reagan's confirmation of his plan and Murphy's attempts to fill Philip Habib's position and the Israeli welcome of the Jordanian move left all the Palestinian factions with the duty of preserving the PLO's representatives as a first consideration and forces it to unite its ranks and subdue all its differences in favour of confronting and achieving this mission.

AL TALIA
September 27

Abd al-Nasser... Dignity and Experience

Fourteen years ago to the day, September 28, the sad news was announced by Anwar Sadat that Nasser had passed away. Yet his memory is still alive with us.

Few people know of the close relationship between this nationalist leader and *Al Ittihad* newspaper, which reached him on a regular basis and which he read regularly.

The relationship between the residents of Nazareth and Nasser is well-known. He made it known on several occassions over the radio. Once when women in Nazareth staged a demonstration and some of them were arrested by police, Nasser went on the air the next day to describe the Nazereth residents as "those brave people."

The Nazereth residents were in the lead in staging mourning marches to mark his death.

Nasser was a unique leader because he was always true to others. He was brave politically and personally. He neve hesitated to admit mistakes.

AL ITTIHAD
September 28

The Palestinian Number

It is often necessary to go back to the basics in the midst of the changing situation in the area. The basic issue is that the Palestinian role should not be excluded.

While imperialist and Arab forces are trying to exclude the Palestinian role, the necessity arises of having a unified Palestinian stand that imposes itself on the changing events.

No doubt that the only place to formulate such a stand is the PNC which has the authority to ratify the Aden/Algiers agreement and to implement it.

Those hindering the convening of the PNC are serving the interests of those who try to exclude the Palestinian role, and those who try to carry out schemes that do not serve Arab or Palestinian interests.

The necessity of convening the PNC is growing stronger and more urgent. The factions that signed the Aden/Algiers agreement are requested to expedite the meeting of the PNC and to reject all pressure against it.

AL SHA'AB
September 28

End the Detainees' Suffering

Political detainees at Jnaid prison in Nablus continue their open hunger strike. Today, Saturday, the strike entered its seventh day. The detainees are demanding the minimum of what is needed to preserve human life.

The detainees are using a natural right to strike. According to international law, a detainee may resort to a strike so as to achieve his human rights.

Jnaid prison does not provide the detainees with the minimum of health — psychological, social and cultural — requirements that would preserve his life. A detainee is a human being whose basic needs should be taken into consideration.

Placing 14 detainees in a room whose area is about 24 square metres is a violation of their humanity. This is something unbearable. It limits movement and even breathing or other basic aspects of life. How could it be tolerated for a period of 20 years? The rooms lack ventilation and light in addition to the lack of cleanliness.

The continued ignoring of the demands of the detainees by the prison administration and the Israeli officials puts a question mark as to the objectives of the authorities from suffering of the detainees.

We also wonder about the role of the Red Cross that is concerned with the conditions of the detainees.

All indications are that the Red Cross Organisation is collaborating with the prison authorities. This is evidenced by its indifference to this problem which involves the lives of hundreds of people.

We call upon all international institutions and organisations to act effectively to save the lives of the detainees and secure their just demands.

We call upon all the Israeli peace forces to practice pressure on the Israeli government to put an end to the suffering of the detainees.

We have nothing to say to the mothers of the detainees except: be patient.

AL FAJR
September 29

Arab Masses Should Have Final Say

Arab solidarity and the agreement of Arab leaders on a unified strategy in the face of dangers threatening the Arab nation are the core of Arab thinking from the Ocean to the Gulf. States, leaders and parliaments are but the instruments and political channels developed and organised to serve and fulfill Arab aspirations.

It is quite obvious that Egypt's return to the Arab fold has become a national demand, as evidenced by the favourable reactions to the Jordanian decision.

If the Arab states, parliaments and governments were functioning properly then they would put the issue of Egypt's return to a referendum. All Arab people will support Egypt's return. Arab leaders should refer the issue to the Arab masses. The will of the masses is much stronger than summit decisions.

This proposal will be a test for Arab leaders. It will also be an opportunity for these leaders to know what the Arab masses are thinking.

AL QUDS
October 1

Labour Movement Negotiates End to 3-Year Split

Labour officials reached a tentative agreement this week to repair the three-year-old formal split in the West Bank trade union movement. An agreement to reunite the two rival Federations of West Bank Labour Unions was initialed by federation heads Adel Ghanem and Shehadeh Minawi September 29 in Nablus. The two union officials are expected to obtain the approval of their respective executive committees before meeting again October 6.

According to the agreement, the opposing unions will reconvene the May 1981 federation board, headed by long-time Secretary-General Ghanem. The executive board will then choose a three-member transitional committee which will be responsible for adjusting the union bylaws, reviewing and endorsing the application of any union that was formed after the split and arranging for elections of a new executive committee. The transitional team has six months to complete the changes and hold elections.

Minawi told *Al Fajr* that his federation approved the unity agreement on October 1. Adel Ghanem's executive committee is expected to meet October 5 to discuss the agreement.

Adel Ghanem told *Al Fajr* that he hoped the executive committee of his union would support the agreement. Ghanem said that he is optimistic about the reunification accords "because its aims are in the interests of Palestinian unionists."

In solidarity with and support for demands of Jnaid prisoners, families held a sit-in strike at the Red Cross offices in Jerusalem September 24 until October 4/AO photo

Bribe Campaign

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enter the West Bank from Jordan from $3000 to $5000 to the Israeli scheme.

George Tadrus, director of the officially closed British Bank of the Middle East office in Jerusalem, told *Al Fajr* that all Arab-owned banks in the West Bank continue to refuse to operate under the authority of the Israeli Central Bank. He said however that it would be a different situation if the banking system was independent. Israelis attempted to negotiate with banks 14 years ago but the negotiations fell through because of Israel's insistence that the Arab-owned banks come under Israeli banking restrictions.

In a related story, the Israeli daily *HaAretz* reported October 2 that the Israeli ministry of defence will announce the reopening of Najah University in Nablus in a few days time. The announcement follows the intervention of Arab activists living in Israel with the prime minister's office and the ministry of defence.

Informed sources say the ministry of defence will cancel the order to close the university as part of the attempt by the new government to show willingness to hold talks with the Arab population. Further steps such as an announcement regarding municipal elections in the occupied territories, *HaAretz* reported, may be in the offing.

JNAID

continued from page 1

from other political leaders. Their only aim is to improve the conditions of their imprisonment in order to live as human beings. According to the letter read by Abu Ziad, the prisoners demanded from Bar Lev that the prison-appointed medical staff be neutral and be allowed to meet the prisoners' medical needs, not be used by prison administration to blackmail the prisoners into stopping the hunger strike.

The prisoners' letter said they felt that Bar Lev was objective in his reaction to prisoner demands but prisoners felt the prison administration might take advantage of the visit to help break the strike. Prisoners said they couldn't reply to the minister's demand to end the strike based only on some promises. The striking prisoners said past relations with prison authorities have cost their confidence in the possibility of the authorities carrying out their verbal promises. "Unless we have guarantees or see the changes being carried out, we will continue our strike," prisoners said. Bar Lev had told reporters after meeting the Palestinian prisoners that some of their demands are legitimate but that he felt the strike was "political and initiated by hostile forces outside the prison."

Ali Ghouzlan, head of the Arab Lawyers Association, told reporters that the asbestos boards hanging outside prison windows not only bar fresh air and sun, but that asbestos is proven medically to lead to a number of health problems including cancer. Ghouzlan also said that political prisoner, Ziad Abu Ein, pointed out that prisoners have not changed clothes for the past two weeks. Ghouzlan said the prisoners had suggested a compromise regarding the asbestos, whereby the boards be attached at a distance from the windows and at a tilt, thus allowing in air and sun. At the same time, this compromise would fulfil the security needs alleged by prison authorities.

Lea Tsemel, whose attempt to obtain an order *nisi* barring the use of violence against prisoners failed, told members of the press that the responsibility for the safety of prisoners remains in the hands of prison authorities. She said the court felt her request was premature since no force had yet been used to stop the hunger strike. Tsemel said striking prisoners had accepted milk, margarine and eggs instead of being forcfed, but that prisoners are ready to stop taking the liquid nourishment if authorities promise not to force-feed them. Forcefeeding at a hunger strike in Nafha prison in 1980 led to the death of two prisoners and injury to two more. Tsemel said that since then prison regulation has made it a policy to provide hunger strikers with the liquid. Tsemel said that if authorities keep insisting that the prisoners are not on hunger strike they will stop accepting the liquid.

As a result of the strike, the average weight of the prisoners has dropped between 5-10 kilos, advocate Ghouzlan said. Nevertheless, no physical checkup by a certified doctor has taken place. Two prisoners, Hussein Nasr and Mohammed Hammad have been transferred to the Ramle prison hospital because of health problems.

Sheikh Sa'ad ad-Din al-Alami, head of the Higher Islamic Council, sent a telegramme October 3 to the Israeli defense minister and the commander of the central district demanding that they conduct an investigation into conditions at Jnaid. The Department of Preaching and Direction also sent a memo to all West Bank mosques asking preachers to speak at the regular Friday noon service about the situation facing Palestinian political prisoners and the inhuman conditions in the prisons.

Arabs from Gaza

continued from page 9

If I order two beers to my room, and give the waiter a good tip — after all I've been a waiter and I know what it's like — he'll still stare at me, but while he's staring at me, I can read his thoughts. He's thinking, God Almighty, isn't there a Jew who could do what he's doing? Even though I've learned to handle those looks, it doesn't mean that they no longer exist.

"Take the example of a kid who arrives in Tel Aviv, fresh from Gaza. He's just a simple worker and he doesn't have any political opinions. But he doesn't have to do a lot of thinking to form an opinion. His wages and the treatment he receives make him form an opinion quite quickly.

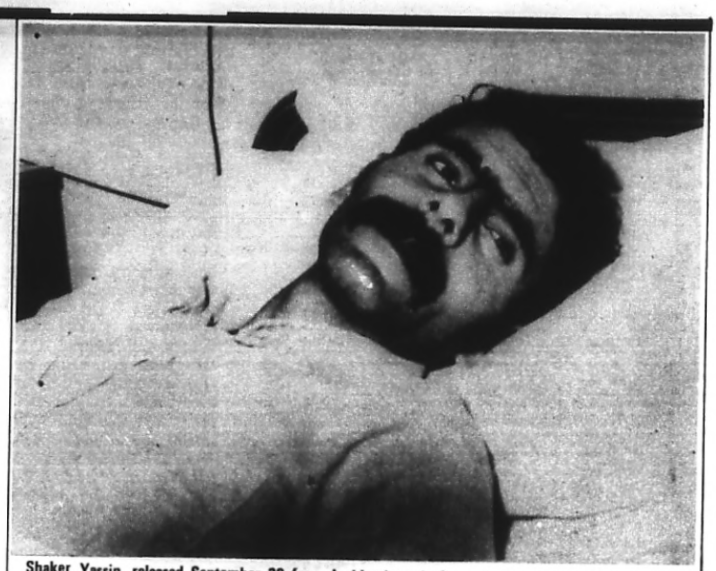
"I want to feel a sense of belonging. The Egyptians have a state, the Americans have a state, I also want a state. I believe that once co-existence was a possibility. My father had Jewish neighbours in Jaffa, but it's hard to imagine such a thing today. I've been spiritually destroyed by the treatment I've received from Jews — the pay, and the whole condition of being a worker from the occupied territories in Tel Aviv. Do I hate the Jews? Yes and no. I want my rights and I have been denied them, and the Jews are responsible for that. I live in a refugee camp because of the Jews and my father had to leave his house in 1948 because of the Jews. On the other hand, all my artistic development has taken place in Tel Aviv. I get a bit mixed up sometimes. When Palestinians are killed in Lebanon I consider them to be my brothers — even though I have never met them; it's enough that they are the sons of my people. But when an Israeli soldier is killed in Lebanon, even though he is not one of my people, it has happened that I've known him.

"If somebody is rude to me when I work as a waiter I view him as a little man, who is far beneath me. If that's how he gets satisfaction — by insulting an Arab waiter — then he's on a pretty low level. I've been hurt many times in the course of my life. Others might have halted but I kept pushing forward. In spite of everything, I demanded a certain amount of respect. But those of my friends who have not succeeded in breaking out as I have are probably much happier than me. I believe that their lives are better than mine. They don't have to negotiate the stumbling blocks that I face. My every demand is a problem in itself. I lose sleep at night wondering what kind of reception I'll be given the next day.

"In Israeli society I'll always be the odd man out. If I want to feel on par with even a Jewish cleaner, I have to excel at art, and even then it's not a sure bet. If there's a Jewish set designer and an Arab set designer, they'll always choose the Jew, even if both are just as talented. They only take me when they have no one else. The only reason I got my last job was that no one else knew how to make a certain type of plaster cast. In the movie set of *Behind the Wall* the director made me feel comfortable. Also the fact that it was an Arab-Jewish cast and the film had a message made a difference. I was treated well and I put a lot of energy into the film.

"Now, my situation is that of a *Samid, (Samud:* steadfastness) like in the book I told you about (*The Third Way* by Raja Shehadeh). The main thing is to try to keep going. And to wait and see what will happen. In Gaza there are a lot of people who have hopes and dreams. They paint things which the people in the Bavli neighborhood of Tel Aviv use, without knowing that they were made in Gaza. There are poets, singers and people who live like Parisians alongside others whose lives are filled with problems and difficulties. One day I'd like to be a journalist and write a story about a Gaza family with a refrigerator. About what happens to a family when the father gets sick and the children go out to work in Tel Aviv. About a Jewish boss and the way he yells at his workers. About the workers he yells at, who one day may have the same rights as his children." (Translation: HaAretz Supplement, September 21, 1984)

WEEKLY REVIEW



Shaker Yassin, released September 30 from Jnaid prison, in for a check-up at Makassed Hospital after hunger striking for one week with the rest of the prisoners/AO photo

September 26, 1984

PLAN FOR ESTABLISHING A SHARIA COLLEGE AT NAJAH

NAJAH — A plan for establishing a *Sharia* (Islamic law) college at Najah University was presented to the board of trustees by the Islamic studies department.

The plan comes at a time when the university is closed for four months by the authorities.

There are already four *Sharia* colleges in the occupied territories.

HEBRON ENCIRCLED BY SETTLEMENTS

HEBRON — A Kiryat Arba settler told the Israeli daily *Hadashot* that leaders of settlements in the occupied territories have made a comprehensive plan for encircling Arab Hebron with Jewish settlements. The newspaper said 40 dunums of land have already been confiscated, which are enough for 300 families.

The settlers are also planning the expansion of Jewish settlements in the heart of Hebron.

ISRAEL'S POPULATION ESTIMATED AT 4.2 MILLION

Israel's population on the eve of the Jewish New Year numbers 4.2 million, an increase of 2 percent over last year, the Israeli Bureau of Statistics announced.

The announcement said 83 percent of the population was Jewish and 17 percent Palestinian from inside the 'green line'. The Jewish birth rate increased by 1.8 percent and the Arab birth rate grew by 2.6 percent.

YOUTHS ARRESTED FOR STONE-THROWING

Israeli police arrested a number of Arab youths on charges of throwing stones on the Beer Sheba-Arad highway, Israel Radio reported.

KUFR KANNA YOUTH REMANDED

NAZARETH — The Nazareth magistrates court has ordered Ali Abd al-Qader Dahamsheh from the village of Kufr Kanna remanded into police custody for 15 days on charges of setting fire to trees belonging to a nearby settlement four months ago.

COUNTERFEIT DOLLARS IN RAMALLAH

RAMALLAH — Israeli police arrested a number of persons in Ramallah suspected of possessing counterfeit US dollars.

DR SHEHADEH BURIED

BEIT JALA — Dr Shehadeh Shehadeh, general director of West Bank hospitals who died in a hospital in France after a long illness, was buried in his hometown of Beit Jala.

September 27, 1984

MARCH FOR PNC MEETING

NABLUS — Palestinians in Nablus staged a march in the city calling for the convention of the Palestine National Council and abiding by the Aden/Algiers accord.

FAMILIES' HUNGER STRIKE ENTERS 3RD DAY

JERUSALEM — Palestinian women holding a sit-in at the International Red Cross office in Jerusalem in support of Palestinian inmates in Jnaid prison in Nablus are continuing with their hunger strike for the third day running.

FRENCH SOCIALISTS CALL FOR WITHDRAWING THREAT TO CLOSE PPS

The French Socialist Party sent a telegramme to the Israeli Labour Party calling on it to withdraw the authorities' threat to close down the East Jerusalem-based *Palestine Press Service* and *Al Awdah* magazine.

NEW ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT IN BZU

BIR ZEIT — A new engineering department was inaugurated at Bir Zeit University in a ceremony attended by several residents, mayors and intellectuals.

PALESTINIANS PROTEST MURDER OF CAMP INMATE

Palestinians in the Ain al-Hilweh refugee camp near Sidon in Israeli occupied south Lebanon went on strike and barricaded themselves behind heaps of burning tyres to protest the murder of a camp inmate Wednesday.

Correspondents said tension was high in the camp after the discovery in a nearby district two days ago of the body of a Palestinian man abducted earlier from the camp.

Meanwhile, a two-day interruption in telephone communications between the south and the rest of Lebanon was announced yesterday and no reasons were given for the cut.

September 28, 1984

BOMB FOUND IN TIBERIAS

TIBERIAS — Bomb disposal experts in the Israeli army dismantled an bomb found in the Lake Tiberias irrigation canal.

20 JABALYA FAMILIES EVICTED

GAZA — Israeli authorities notified 20 more families living in Block X in the Jabalya refugee camp in Gaza that they must destroy their homes. They say the houses are on land the authorities claim is government property.

WORK IN JORDAN

Graduates who signed contracts to work in Jordan and whose names were published in the local papers are now permitted to enter Jordan.

The source said the graduates' names have been delivered to the Jordanian authorities on the bridges to facilitate their travel.

NABLUS YOUTHS IMPRISONED

NABLUS — Hazem Abd al-Rahim Abu Salheh and Ra'fat Mustafa Jarwan, both from Nablus, were sentenced by the military court in Nablus to six months' imprisonment plus another six months suspended on charges of demonstrating and stone-throwing.

VOLUNTARY WORK IN JENIN

The Youth Committee for Social Work in Jenin camp staged a voluntary work day in the camp.

September 29, 1984

ARMED ROBBERY IN NABLUS

NABLUS — Masked thieves intercepted money exchanger Ahmed al-Tayouni of Nablus and stole a bag he was carrying containing JD10,000. The thieves were able to escape.

September 30, 1984

JNAID DETAINEE RELEASED

Jihad Shukri Hassan Yassin, a detainee at Jnaid prison, was released after serving a four-year prison term on security charges. The youth was taken to Makassed Hospital for a medical check-up.

LARGE BOMB FOUND IN NETANYA

NETANYA — Israeli bomb disposal experts dismantled a bomb discovered at a hitchhikers's at the Beit Lid intersection near Netanya.

Police said a plastic bag containing eight kilogrammes of explosives was discovered by a policeman at the hitchhiking post crowded with Israeli soldiers. The bomb was timed to go off during the morning.

TAIBEH PREPARES FOR KAHANE'S VISIT

The head of the local council in Taibeh cabled the Israeli prime minister and other government officials calling on them to interfere to prevent racist MK Rabbi Meir Kahane from visiting Taibeh October 9.

HEBRON PRISONERS ON HUNGER STRIKE

Palestinian political detainees in Hebron prison Saturday began an indefinite hunger strike in support of their inmates in Jnaid prison and their families occupying the Red Cross offices in East Jerusalem for the last six days.

A solidarity conference was held in Hebron University in support of the Jnaid prisoners. The conference was attended by a large number of students, families of the prisoners and notables from the district.

JABALYA YOUTH SHOT BY ISRAELI POLICE

A youth from Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza district was shot and wounded when Israeli border patrolmen fired at him, Israel Radio reported.

The radio said the youth was shot in the leg when he ran from a patrol that wanted to examine an object he was carrying.

RAFAH YOUTH GETS 3 YEARS IN PRISON

The Israeli district court in Jerusalem sentenced Mohammed Yazouri of Rafah to three years' imprisonment after he was convicted of attempting to kill 50 bus passengers by trying to overturn the bus on a curve.

October 1, 1984

ATTEMPT TO ASSAULT NOTABLE

BEIT ULA — Isma'il Mohammed Abd al-Hadi, head of the Beit Ula charitable society in the Hebron district, filed a complaint with police after unidentified persons fired several shots at his home last Tuesday.

STUDENT SENTENCED TO PRISON

LYDDA — University student Atef Ibrahim Abu Tair, from the village of Um Tuba near Jerusalem, was sentenced by Israeli military court in Lydda to one year in prison plus another year suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation

and training in weapons.

Abu Tair was arrested upon his return from Iraq where he is studying.

A DEMAND TO STOP WORK BY ISRAELI ELECTRIC CORPORATION ON HEBRON LAND

HEBRON — Pharmacist Ali al-Qawasmeh and Hatem Abu al-Daba'ate of Hebron sent a telegramme to the Israeli electricity corporation demanding that it cease work on their lands.

The corporation said it will continue to work until it receives an order from the 'civil administration' to stop.

150 GRADUATES SIGN CONTRACTS TO WORK IN JORDAN

One hundred fifty West Bank graduates have recently signed contracts with the Jordanian education ministry to teach in Jordan.

October 2, 1984

NAJAH MAY BE REOPENED

Israeli authorities are planning to reopen Najah University in the next few days, the Israeli daily *HaAretz* reported.

The newspaper said the Israeli defence ministry is expected to cancel the closure order after recurrent Arab and Jewish calls for reopening the university.

Najah was ordered closed August 1 for four months by the authorities.

ARAB NOTABLES CALL ON HERZOG AND PERES TO STOP KAHANE

Dozens of Arab notables have sent a petition to Israeli President Chaim Herzog and Premier Shimon Peres calling on them to stop racist Rabbi Meir Kahane from visiting the Arab village of Taibeh October 9.

The notables said such a visit would clearly provoke Arab residents and could lead to devastating results.

The new engineering building at Bir Zeit University, inaugurated September 27 on the new campus/AO photo

VILLAGE SUFFERING FROM WATER CRISIS

TARQOUMIA — The village of Tarqoumia in the Hebron district is suffering from a severe water crisis since last week. The water supply was cut from the village for seven days in the past two weeks.

Dear Mr. Begin...

continued from page 6

ago prevented the escalation of the war. Another 400,000 could speed up the process which would put an end to this nightmare.

"I don't want to name a date. A month... two months... half a year. As an army man I realise that the army can't be pulled out of Lebanon in one stroke. But as a human being and a citizen of this country, I'm not about to cease demanding that this pullback take place as quickly as possible so that the state of Israel does not turn into a second Vietnam. A gulf has opened up between the army and the people and that gulf must be closed. How many times will we have to listen to the infantile mendacity with which the death of a soldier in Sidon is rationalised away as being a small yet necessary sacrifice for the security of Kiryat Shemona?

"...Yes, I have tacked some hope on Yitzhak Rabin. I'm sure he'll make an effort. But that doesn't mean that we should no longer be involved. We must not forget that Rabin is sitting in a cabinet that includes the architects of this catastrophe. And they will go to great lengths to show that their decisions were both rational and correct. I have no reason to believe that a national unity government can shake their blind faith or lessen their self-righteousness; they loathe the world because the world didn't give them a pat on the back.

"For the past year I've heard Shamir and Arens speak time and time again about the necessity of a peaceful and secure withdrawal of troops from Lebanon. Declarations and proposals abound. But if after a year of hearing this type of thing I see a column of tanks advancing into Lebanon to stage mopping up operations, it can only serve to make me draw certain conclusions about their way of thinking, their limited scope and their latest attempt to throw sand in our eyes. It isn't a question of whether or not the operation was militarily successful; without a doubt, ten saboteurs less is better than ten saboteurs more. But the real question is, where do we go from here? If you want to withdraw from Lebanon, you don't advance tank columns. You don't have to be a general in the army to realise the consequences of such a move. Even a simple private can understand what it's all about.

"...No, I haven't grown tired of the subject. Maybe I see it as a personal mission. Sometmes I'm pleased to find that there are quite a few others who are not willing to remain silent or give up. It's true that I've had to pay a price. Since the Beirut episode, I haven't been called to reserve duty. Perhaps they think I have nothing more to contribute. In any case, I hope they don't bring me before a military court for failing to keep in touch with my reserve unit. In the meantime, in order to do my bit, I've been visiting wounded soldiers in hospitals, in lieu of Sharon, Raful and Shamir.

"...I am about to write Begin a letter. After wishing him a speedy recovery, I will proceed as follows: 'Dear Mr Begin — A month after the outbreak of the war, we had a private talk in your office (witnessed by one other person) during which you told me: 'Eli, if this war causes the death of 20 more soldiers, then it will have lost its legitimacy and will have to be immediately brought to a halt.' But since then, Mr Begin, 560 soldiers have lost their lives in the war and another 1800 have been wounded. Many of them will be cripples for the rest of their lives. And now, Mr Begin, are you prepared to stand before the nation and say that this war was unjustified? Don't you think that it's your duty — as the man who led us into this catastrophe — to come out and admit it?"

Happy New Year
(Reserve) Colonel Eli Geva

Ya'abad Farmers

continued from page 16

members of my family — men, women, children and elders, all 40 of them — worked hard for 12 months. Day and night, under the pouring rain and during 100 days of the hot summer, we worked. What can we do now?" His hopelessness is shared by more than 50 families in Ya'abad.

Abu Mohammed said that he sent telegrammes to the military governor of the West Bank in which he explained the hard time his village is going through. He waited for an answer and when none came he went to the headquarters at the military government in Beit El where he was advised to consult with Jordanian officials in Amman.

At the ministry of occupied territories affairs Abu Mohammed met with a Jordanian official to discuss the possibility of exporting about 50 tons of tobacco to Jordan. The Jordanian official rejected the offer and discouraged the man from further attempts. Jordanian production of tobacco now exceeds 3500 tons a year but Abu Mohammed remembers before 1967 when they used to buy Ya'abad tobacco.

Disappointed and angry, Abu Mohammed went back to his village and tried in vain to persuade the JCC to increase its intake of Ya'abad's production. A JCC official explained to him that the company's storage space is full, they have more than they need, and their purchase quota is firm.

Their only hope, it seems, is to convert their tobacco farms into farms producing other crops. Melons, sesame and olives have always succeeded in that particular area. But forming a cooperative may prove most beneficial. The JCC told *Al Fajr* that it is most willing to financially aid those farmers once they decide to turn to other crops. As for now, one can only hope that the farmers will survive a difficult winter. Most are financially bankrupt and unsure of "where the next piece of bread will be coming from."

Illusory Freeze

continued from page 10

"Given the current situation, it is impossible to freeze or call a halt to the settlements. Having been set in motion, they grow of their own accord. There are too many people who have a financial interest in keeping the enterprise going. What is needed at this juncture is change and not the preservation of the status quo. To preserve the status quo now is like locking the gates of a stable once the horses have escaped. If someone wants to keep options open, he will have to create them anew. For example, a decision not to sell any more state land would not have much effect, because out of 2.2 million dunams of state land, 1.9 million dunams have already been appropriated. Three hundred thousand more or less will not make that much of a difference. One million people can be settled on these lands. If new options are called for, a lot of appropriated land must be relinquished.

"On another level, there is a problem regarding the re-appointment of an Arab mayor in Hebron. The second largest city on the West Bank has been administered by a Jewish mayor for the past two years. Operating under the direction of Rabbi Levinger, he has allowed Jewish settlers to build almost anywhere they choose. An Arab mayor could put an end to this state of affairs and push the wheel back by revoking building permits in different parts of the city.

"Talk about autonomy and new options is just dribble. It's too late to simply 'freeze' — we are on the verge of total annexation! If we want to create an alternative we must change the status quo. Unfortunately, I doubt this will happen. The Labour Alignment cannot do it and perhaps does not want to; they did not speak about making changes — only about a 'freeze.' Could it be that they do not know what is really happening?" (Yehuda Litani, Ha'aretz, 14, 9, 1984)

Without regional agricultural planning or local cooperatives, Palestinian small farmers do not have the means to vary the kind and quantity of crops according to market vagaries. Ya'abad village depends on the sale of tobacco for its livelihood but its largest buyer isn't buying, as **Baher al-Ashhab** reports for *Al Fajr*.

Tobacco Cuts Threaten Ya'abad Farmers With Ruin

Ya'abad's fields have yielded tobacco for as long as any living villager can remember. Next month, about 300 tons of freshly-picked tobacco leaves — planted, cared for and harvested by families from Ya'abad village — will be ready for market. The problem: there is no market open to them this year. Future production is also likely to end up without buyers.

Tobacco farming, a traditional way of life for hundreds of Ya'abad villagers, may now bankrupt farmers because of a drastic drop in orders from the village's largest buyer and no new buyers in sight.

Ya'abad is a small Palestinian village of 15,000 inhabitants. It remains steadfast against the cruel and ever-changing times in which we live, a small village set upon the hills near Jenin in the north of the West Bank. It is peacefully surrounded by dunums upon dunums of olive trees and tobacco farms and, not so peacefully, by six Israeli settlements constructed upon confiscated Ya'abad land within a discomforting distance of the village.

Last year the JCC purchased 150 tons, only half of Ya'abad's total crop. The remaining tobacco was stored by farmers in costly storage space distributed throughout the village. This year, JCC put in a reduced order for only 120 metric tons while the village is expecting a bumper crop of 350 tons. In addition, the company indicated that it may refrain from buying any tobacco from Ya'abad for the next five years because it already has about 400 tons in stock.

The farmers of Ya'abad are furious and worried. Abu Mohammed, a tobacco farmer since 1938, complained, "This is the worst year that I've ever seen." He continued, with tears in his eyes: "I really work hard for my crop. Is it fair that the JCC abandons me like this?" His future as a tobacco farmer, like many others, seems bleak and there appears to be no easy way out.

Ya'abad farmers did not stand idly by, however, and cry over the unpredictable market. They joined hands and formed a representative committee which they hoped would look into the problem of the decreasing market. The committee included a number of prominent figures in the village who were instructed to launch a full investigation into the matter and to meet with agriculture department and JCC officials in search of possible alternatives.

One farmer said. "We went to our educated and our wealthy and our respected and we authorised them to represent us. They promised to do their utmost." In the end, however, the small farmers were worse off after the committee acted.

The committee, instead of working out a solution which would benefit all the farmers, went directly to tobacco company officials and struck a deal, according to farmer complaints. The deal, claim Ya'abad's angry farmers, was that the JCC would purchase 150 tons of the 1983 tobacco crop at a reduced price and exclusively from members of the committee and their immediate associates. The deal left about 100 tons of tobacco to rot in storage and about 50 families with huge debts to pay.

The farmers charge that the committee shamelessly deceived them and violated their trust. One disadvantaged farmer said: "We should've put our trust only in God. May God punish those who deceived us." The farmers are currently collecting signatures on a petition to disqualify the committee from further representation. They also condemned the JCC — which has strongly denied that such a deal was made — for what they called its lack of fairness. They say the company should have purchased its tobacco from all the farmers on an equal basis.

The JCC claims that they agreed to purchase 150 tons from farmers chosen at random according to the availability and quality of their product. Any complications that arose, they claim, were due to the farmers' lack of unity and cooperation and their naivete about marketing procedures. Farid al-Assali, an assistant to the JCC director, maintained that his company's responsibility is only to search for good quality tobacco and when it finds it to buy it, regardless of who sells it or how many farmers are involved in the sale. "We went to the village and bought 150 tons of tobacco from farmers with valid farming permits," he said. "We don't know how many people benefited from the deal. It is not our concern."

The farmers, however, argue that it is one of the company's responsibilities, from a nationalist point-of-view, to make certain that a maximum number of farmers benefit from such a deal. They believe many of them could have shared in the JD100,000 profit from the company's purchase. The farmers admit, however, that they lack organisation and unity. They spoke of failed attempts to form a cooperative in the past. The idea either died in the village, they said, or in the bureaucracy of the agriculture department. A cooperative could supervise production and marketing for the village as a whole and, some say, end internal bickering within the farming community.

Both farmers and the JCC spoke of the need to revise and improve the department of agriculture's system of issuing farming permits. The system, they alleged, is weak, unfair and susceptible to corrupt practices.

A resident of Ya'abad who requested to remain anonymous told *Al Fajr* that several big land owners and village elite obtain permits in the name of relatives who live abroad or who are not even farmers. They then use or lease these permits to produce tobacco in a manner that harms small, unprotected farmers. A JCC official replied, "If we were to investigate the background of each permit holder at the time of purchase, we would embarrass many reputable individuals." But of course the ordinary farmer is obviously victimised by such high-powered tactics." One disgruntled farmer said sarcastically, "If I could have only saved up some cash to pin to my permit application, I would have been in a better position now."

Each year, the JCC submits a letter to the department of agriculture indicating its demand quota of Ya'abad tobacco. The department, in turn, is supposed to issue farming permits based on these figures but it does not. This year farmers were encouraged to produce more than twice the tonnage of tobacco that the JCC could buy. The farmers are planning to petition the department to refrain from dispensing further permits until the 1983 and 1984 production is disposed of. The JCC, however, is not expected to purchase any further amounts for three to five years.

JCC is one of the largest Palestinian employers in the West Bank. According to company figures, 150 area residents work in the factory, which pours JD1.5 million annually into the West Bank economy. Dr Mohammed al-Alami, deputy director of JCC, maintained that his company's decisions were based strictly on consumer demand. He justified importing 80 percent of the company's tobacco crop with the argument that West Bank smokers prefer imported tobacco to local produce. The company imports 700 tons from Zimbabwe, the US and Italy and combines it with local tobacco to produce eight brands of cigarettes. Of the eight brands, only one, Omar, has 100 percent local tobacco. The rest are either 100 percent import, such as Imperial, or are mixed with five to ten percent local tobacco.

Increasing the proportion of local tobacco in the cigarettes, company experts claim, would add bitterness to the taste. The fact that local tobacco is resistant to chemical treatment and carries a large amount of oily residue from the West Bank soil also makes a cigarette with a high local blend difficult to stay lit, they said. The company officials also complained of the manner in which they received local production. It is untreated, unprepared for production and inefficiently packaged in bags. Imported tobacco, on the other hand, arrives chemically treated, cut and neatly packaged. It also sells for two-thirds the price of the local tobacco, they maintained.

Jerusalem Cigarette Company's
Record of purchase, sales and profit

	1977	1979	1981	1983
Local purchase (in metric tons)	300	300	300	150
% of increase over previous year's sales	40%	80%	82%	350%
% of increase over previous year's profit	83%	85%	135%	316%
Imported tobacco in m.t. approximate	700	700	700	700

Source: Annual Report of Board of Directory of JCC. 1977, 79, 81, 83.

* Primarily from Ya'abad.

Editor's note: The tremendous increase in sales and profitability indicated by this table is not a real figure. Calculated in Israeli Shekels it reflects more the 400 percent inflation rate than the company's progress.

Ya'abad tobacco, destined to rot in the fields or in storage: the market completely disappeared/BA photo

Ya'abad's population, which consists of a handful of huge extended families, depends on farming as the major source of income. It is the largest tobacco producer in the West Bank. A small percentage of Ya'abad's labourers work in the surrounding cities and only a few cross the 'green line' in search of work in Israel.

Each year, the Jenin department of agriculture, under the control of the Israeli military government, issues about 100 farming permits to Ya'abad farmers who farm about 2500 dunums exclusively with tobacco and produce an average of 300 tons annually. Up until 1983, 90 percent of the tobacco crop was absorbed by the Palestinian-owned Jerusalem Cigarette Company (JCC) in Abu Dis. The remaining 10 percent is sent to Beit Jala International Cigarette Company and the Israeli Dubrik Company, neither of whom can be counted on to purchase regularly. Ya'abad's tobacco is blended with other leaves in the production of several brands of cigarettes.

The threatened farmers of Ya'abad have tried to reach alternate markets in an attempt to secure themselves and their families financially. They have spoken with the West Bank military government, to the Jenin military government and even to the Jordanian authorities in Amman, all without success. Some have been farming for over 50 years and cannot comprehend why things have gone so wrong now.

Abu Mohammed complained about what he called "the company's unfair stand towards the hard-working farmers of Ya'abad." He said: "The

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